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1884.





THE
HISTORY
OF THE
RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

THE SEVENTH BOOK.

Having now left America, and being returned to England, let us go and see the state of persecution in London, where desperate fury now raged ; though it was not in that chief city alone the Quakers, so called, were most grievously persecuted : for a little before this time there was published in print a short relation of the persecution throughout all England, signed by twelve persons, shewing that more than four thousand and two hundred of those called Quakers, both men and women, were in prison in England ; and denoting the number of them that were imprisoned in each county, either for frequenting meetings, or for denying to swear, &c. Many of these had been grievously beaten, or their clothes torn or taken away from them ;

and some were put into such stinking dungeons, that some great men said, they would not have put their hunting dogs there. Some prisons were crowded full both of men and women, so that there was not sufficient room for all to sit down at once; and in Cheshire sixty eight persons were in this manner locked up in a small room; an evident sign that they were a harmless people, that would not make any resistance, or use force. By such ill treatment many grew sick, and not a few died in such jails; for neither age nor sex was regarded, but even ancient people of sixty, seventy, and more years of age, were not spared: and most of these being tradesmen, shopkeepers, and husbandmen, were thus reduced to poverty; for their goods were also seized, for not going to church, (so called) or for not paying tithes. Many times they were fain to lie in prison on cold nasty ground, without being suffered to have any straw; and often they were kept several days without victuals: no wonder therefore that many died by such hard imprisonments as these.

In London, and its suburbs, were about this time no less than five hundred of those called Quakers, imprisoned, and some in such narrow holes, that there was scarcely convenience for every person to lie down; and the felons were suffered to rob them of their clothes and money. Many that were not imprisoned, suffered hard-

ships in their religious meetings, especially at that in London, known by the name of Bull and Mouth. Here the trained bands came frequently, armed generally with muskets, pikes, and halberts, and conducted by a military officer, by order of the city magistracy ; and rushing in, in a very furious manner, fell to beating them, whereby many were grievously wounded, some fell down in a swoon, and some were beaten so violently, that they lived not long after it. Among these was one John Trowel, who was so bruised and crushed, that a few days after he died. His friends therefore thought it expedient to carry the corpse into the aforesaid meeting place, that it might lie there exposed for some hours, to be seen of every one. This being done, raised commiseration and pity among many of the inhabitants ; for the corpse, beaten like a jelly, looked black, and was swollen in a direful manner. This gave occasion to send for the coroner ; and he being come, empaneled a jury of the neighbours, and gave them in charge, according to his office, to make true inquiry upon their oaths, and to present what they found to be the cause of his death. They viewing the corpse, had a surgeon or two with them, to know their judgment concerning it ; and then going together in private, at length they withdrew without giving in their verdict, only desiring

the friends to bury the corpse, which was done accordingly that evening. And though the coroner and jury met divers times together upon that occasion, and had many consultations, yet they never would give in a verdict; but it appeared sufficiently, that the man was killed by violent beating. The reasons some gave for the suspense of a verdict were, that though it was testified that the same person, now dead, was seen beaten, and knocked down; yet it being done in such a confused crowd, no particular man could be fixed upon, so that any could say, that man did the deed. And if a verdict was given that the deceased person was killed, and yet no particular person charged with it, then the city was liable to a great fine, at the pleasure of the king, for conniving at such a murder in the city in the day time, not committed in a corner, but in a public place, and not apprehending the murderer, but suffering him to escape. In the meanwhile the friends of the deceased were not wanting to give public notice of the fact, and sent also a letter to the lord mayor, which afterwards they gave out in print, together with a relation of this bloody business. In this letter it was said "It may be supposed thou hast heard of this thing, for it was done not in the night, but at the mid-time of the day; not suddenly, at unawares, or by mishap, but intendedly, and a long space of

time in doing ; and not in a corner, but in the streets of the city of London ; all which circumstances do highly aggravate this murder, to the very shame and infamy of this famous city, and its government."

A certain person who spread some of these printed relations, was imprisoned for his pains ; nevertheless another brought one of them to the king, and told him how the thing had been done ; at which the king said, " I assure you it was not by my advice that any of your friends should be slain ; ye must tell the magistrates of the city of it, and prosecute the law against them." This saying of the king was not long after also published in print : but violence prevailed still ; for the person that was apprehended for spreading the said books, was sent to prison by the special order of alderman Brown, of whom since mention may be made several times in this work, it gives me occasion to say something of what kind of man he was.

In the time of Cromwell he had been very fierce against the royalists, especially at Abingdon, not far from Oxford : for this error he endeavoured now to make compensation, by violently persecuting the harmless Quakers ; otherwise he was a comely man, and could commit cruelty with a smiling countenance. But

more of his actions may be represented hereafter.

The Quakers, so called, seeing that they could not obtain justice, let the matter of the murdered person alone ; for suffering was now their portion, and therefore they left their cause with God. Oftentimes they were kept out of their meeting houses by the soldiers ; but then they did not use to go away, but stood before the place, and so their number soon increased ; and then one or other of their ministers generally stepped upon a bench, or some high place, and so preached boldly. Thus he got sometimes more hearers than otherwise he might have had. But such an one sometimes was soon pulled down, which then gave occasion for another to stand up and preach, and thus often four or five one after another, were taken away as innocent sheep, and carried to prison with others of their friends, it may be forty or fifty at once. This puts me in mind of what I heard my mother Judith Zinspenning say, who in the year next following, having gone to England, with William Caton and his wife, (who lived at Amsterdam,) to visit her friends there, and arriving in London, went with others to the Bull and Mouth meeting ; but entrance being denied, they staid in the street, where she saw one preacher after another pulled down, at the instant cry of some officer or other, "Consta-

ble, take him away." Several being thus led away, the constable came also to her, and perceiving by her dress that she was a Dutch woman, pulled her by the sleeve, and said with admiration, "What, a Dutch Quaker!" but meddled no farther with her. This keeping of meetings in the streets became now a customary thing in England; for the Quakers, so called, were persuaded that the exercise of their public worship was a duty no man could discharge them from, and they believed that God required the performance of this service from their hands. And by thus meeting in the streets, it happened sometimes that more than one, nay, it may be three or four at a time, did preach, one in one place, and another in another, which in their meeting places could not have been done conveniently. But thus they got abundance of auditors, and among these sometimes eminent men, who passing by in their coaches, made their coachmen stop. At this rate they found there was a great harvest, and thus their church increased under sufferings; and in those sharp times they were pretty well purified of dross, since the trial was too hot for such as were not sincere; for by frequenting their meetings in such a time, one was in danger of being either imprisoned, or beaten lame, or unto death: but this could not quench the zeal of the upright.

Now the taking away of one preacher, and the standing up of another, became an ordinary thing in England, and it lasted yet long after, as I myself have been an eye-witness of there. And when there were no more men preachers present it may be a woman would rise, and minister to the meeting ; nay, there were such, who in years being little more than boys, were endued with a manly zeal, and encouraged their friends to steadfastness. In the meanwhile many also were imprisoned, without being haled out of their meetings ; for some have been apprehended for speaking only something on the behalf of their friends ; as Rebecca Travers, who, going to the lieutenant of the Tower, desired him to have compassion on some who were imprisoned for frequenting meetings. But he grew angry at this ; and when she went away, one of the keepers gave her ill language ; on which she exhorting him to be good in his place, whilst it was the Lord's will he had it, he was so offended, that going back to the lieutenant, he complained that she had spoken treason, and thereupon she was apprehended, and sent to prison. Nay, the rude soldiers were encouraged to cruelty by officers who were not a whit better, for they themselves would sometimes lay violent hands on peaceable people ; as amongst the rest the afore-mentioned alderman Richard Brown, who formerly had been a major general under Crom-

well and now behaved himself with such outrageous fierceness, that even the comedians did not hesitate to expose him, by an allusion to his name Brown, and saying, "The devil was brown."

A book was also printed, wherein many base abuses, and also his furious behaviour were exposed to public view; and this book was dedicated to him with this short epistle:

" Richard Brown,

" If thou art not sealed up already for destruction, and if repentance be not utterly hid from thy eyes, the Lord convert thee, and forgive thee all thy hard and cruel dealings towards us: we desire thy repentance rather than thy destruction; and the Lord God of heaven and earth give judgment of final determination between thee and us, that all the earth may know whether thy cause against us, or our cause be just before him, who only is the righteous judge."

The said book, though published without the author's name, yet one of them was not only sent to Brown, but as a sign that the Quakers, so called, owned it, others were, by about thirty of them, delivered to the lord mayor, and the sheriffs of London, that so they might know what was acted under their authority; for some, though not authorised, yet being favourites at court, made bold to act against the Quakers

whatever their malice prompted them to. Among these was one Philip Miller, who, though not an officer, yet in the month called May of this year, came into a meeting of the said people in John's street in the parish of Sepulchres, at London, without any order or warrant, and having a cane in his hand, commanded the rabble who attended him, to secure whom he pleased; and then he fetched a constable, whom he forced by his threats to go along with him, and five persons he apprehended, among whom was John Crook, of whom farther mention is like to be made again. Some days after, this Miller came to the said meeting place again, and struck several persons with his cane, because they would not depart at his command; and then he charged the constables, whom he brought along with him, to secure and take into custody whom he pleased.

About the latter end of the aforesaid month, on a first day of the week, one captain Reeves, and some soldiers with muskets and drawn swords, came violently rushing into the Bull and Mouth meeting, where they pulled down him that was preaching, and presently laid hold of another, who desired Reeves to shew his order for this his doing: to which he answered, he would not in that place; but it appeared afterwards that he could not, as having no warrant. Yet he caused his soldiers to take

away about forty persons, (some of whom were not at the meeting, but had been taken up in the streets,) and have them into Paul's yard where they were kept till the public worship was ended there; and then alderman Richard Brown came into the place where the prisoners were guarded, and with great rage and fury laid hands first on a very aged person, and pulled him down twice by the brim of his hat, whereby he lost it. Then he served another in like manner, and a soldier struck this person a great blow with a pistol on his bare head: two others Brown used in the like manner, and then he sent them all to Newgate, guarded by soldiers.

The same day some soldiers came to a meeting in Tower street, and without any warrant, took away twenty-one persons, called Quakers, and carried them to the Exchange, where they kept them some time, and then brought them before the said Richard Brown, who in a most furious manner struck some, and kicked others; which made one of the prisoners, seeing how Brown smote one with his fist on the face; and kicked him on the shin, say, "what Richard, wilt thou turn murderer? Thou didst not do so when I was a soldier under thy command at Abingdon, and thou commandedst me with others, to search people's houses for pies and roast meat, because they kept Christmas as a holy time; and we

brought the persons prisoners to the guard, for observing the same." For such a precise man the said Brown was at that time, that he pretended to root out that superstitious custom; though there is reason to question, whether his heart was sincere in this respect: however, such blind zeal was unfit to convince people of superstitions; and Brown well knowing that by his former carriage, he had very much disoblighed those of the church of England, endeavoured now to make amends for it, by his fierce brutality against the harmless Quakers, and so to come into favour with the ecclesiastics and courtiers. One of Brown's family having heard what was said to him, replied, "There is an Abingdon bird." To which Brown returned, "He is a rogue for all that," and struck him with his fist under the chin; which made another prisoner say, "What, a magistrate and strike!" Upon which Brown with both his hands, pulled him down to the ground by the brim of his hat, and then commanded the soldiers to take them all away, and carry them to Newgate.

Upon a first day of the week, in the month called June, a company of soldiers came into the Bull and Mouth meeting, with pikes, drawn swords, muskets, and lighted matches, as if they were going to fight; though they knew well enough they should find none there but harmless people. The first thing they did was to pull

down him that preached, whom they haled out of the meeting, rejoicing as if they had obtained some great victory: then they brought him to the main guard at Paul's, and returned to the Bull and Mouth, where they apprehended some more, whom they also carried to Paul's. After some hours, these prisoners were carried to the house of the fore mentioned Brown, and he, asking the names of the prisoners, and hearing that of John Perrot, said, "What, you have been at Rome to subvert," but recalling himself, said, "to convert the Pope." On which Perrot told him, "He had suffered at Rome for the testimony of Jesus." Whereupon Brown returned, "If you had converted the Pope to your religion, I should have liked him far worse than I do now. To which Perrot replied, "But God would have liked him better." After some more short discourse, Brown committed them all to Newgate.

After this manner, the meetings of those called Quakers, were disturbed at that time, of which I could produce, if necessary, many more instances. Once, one Cox, a wine cooper, came with some soldiers into a meeting, where, after great violence used they took up two men of those called Quakers, whom they beat most grievously, because they refused to go along with them, though they shewed no warrant for it. At length the soldiers carried them both

upon muskets into Paul's yard, and when they laid them down, they dragged one of them by the heels on his back, in a very barbarous manner; which being done the said wine cooper was heard to say, he would go and get a cup of sack, for these devils had even wearied him out: and yet he went to another meeting place of these people, where he also behaved himself very wickedly: and being asked for his order, his answer was, holding out his sword, this is my order. Thus it seems he would ingratiate himself with Brown, who now being in favour at court, was knighted, and sometime after also chosen lord mayor of London; and by his furious behaviour, the soldiers were also encouraged to commit all manner of mischief; insomuch, that being asked, what order they had for their doings, one lifting up his musket, said, "This is my order:" so that things now were carried by a club law. Nor did the soldiers respect age, but took away out of a meeting at Mile end, two boys, one about thirteen, and the other about sixteen; and they were brought before the lieutenant of the Tower, who to one present, saying he supposed they were not of the age of sixteen years, and then not punishable by the act, returned, they were old enough to be whipped; and they should be whipped out of their religion. And so he sent them to Bridewell, where their hands were put into the stocks,

and so pinched for the space of two hours, that their wrists were much swollen; and this was done because they refused to work, as being persuaded that they had not deserved to be treated so; they also eating nothing at the charge of the said workhouse. These lads, though pretty long in that prison, yet continued steadfast, rejoicing they were counted worthy to suffer for the name of the Lord: and they wrote a letter to their friends' children, exhorting them to be faithful in bearing their testimony for the Lord, against all wickedness and unrighteousness.

Some days before this time, Thomas and John Herbert, living in London, and other musketeers, came with their naked swords into some private dwellings, and broke two or three doors; (for when some persons were seen to enter a house, though it was only to visit their friends, it was called a meeting.) Now it happened in one house, these rude fellows found five persons together, one of whom was William Ames, who was come thither out of Holland, and another was Samuel Fisher; and when it was demanded what warrant they had, they held up their swords, and said, "Do not ask us for a warrant; this is our warrant." And thereupon they took away these persons by force, and carried them to Paul's yard, where they were a laughing stock to the soldiers; and

from thence they were brought to the Exchange, where they met with no better reception from the rude soldiers; and from thence they were conducted to alderman Brown's house in Ivy-lane. He seeing these prisoners, sent them to Bridewell with a mittimus, to be kept to hard labour. But afterwards bethinking himself, and finding that his mittimus was not founded on justice, (for these persons were not taken from a meeting) next morning he sent another mittimus, wherein they were charged with unlawfully assembling themselves to worship. Now, suppose one of the musketeers had heard any of these persons speak by way of exhortation to faithfulness in this hot time of persecution, this would have been taken for a sufficient charge, though not cognizable by law: but they ran upon shifts, how poor or silly soever.

Thus these persons were committed to Bridewell, and required to beat hemp; and they were treated so severely, that W. Ames grew sick, even nigh to death, wherefore he was discharged; for in a sense it might be said, that his dwelling place was at Amsterdam in Holland, since he was there the most part of the time for some years successively, and that he might not be chargeable, he worked at wool combing; and it being alleged that he was of Amsterdam, it seems they would not have him die in prison, as some of his friends had done. The others hav-

ing been six weeks in Bridewell, were presented at the sessions in the Old Bailey; but instead of being tried for what was charged against them, they were required to take the oath of allegiance, as the only business, (according to what the deputy recorder said) they were brought thither for. The prisoners then demanded, that the law might be read, by virtue of which the said oath was required of them. This was promised by the court to be done; but instead thereof, they ordered the clerk to read only the form of the oath, but would not permit the law for imposing it to be read. But before the prisoners had either declared their willingness to take it, or their refusal of it, they were commanded to be taken away; which the officers did with such violence, that they threw some of them down upon the stones. This made Samuel Fisher say, "Take notice people, that we have not yet refused to take the oath; but the court refuseth to perform their promise which they made but just now before you all, that this statute for it should be read: if such doings as this ever prosper, it must be when there is no God." But this was not regarded; and the prisoners, without any justice, were sent to Newgate. Among these, was also one John Howel, who had been sent by alderman Brown to work at Bridewell, because he being brought before him, did not tell on a sudden

what was his name : and being demanded in the court why he did not tell his name, he answered, Because he had been beaten and abused in the presence of Richard Brown, when he was brought before him. Brown, who was also on the bench, asked him roughly, "Wherein were you abused?" And Howel replied, "Blood was drawn on me in thy presence; which ought not to be done in the presence of a justice of peace." But Brown growing very impetuous, returned, "Hold your prating, or there shall as much be done again here in the presence of the court."

About midsummer, Daniel Baker returned into England, (who, as hath been related, had been at Malta) and about a fortnight after his arrival, he, with four others, was taken by a band of soldiers from the Bull and Mouth meeting, and carried to Paul's yard, where having been kept for some hours, they were brought to Newgate; but in the evening they were had before alderman Brown, to whom Baker with meekness said, "Let the fear of God and of his peace be set up in thy heart." But Brown fell a laughing, and said, "I would rather hear a dog bark;" and using more such scoffing expressions, he charged Baker, &c. with the breach of the king's law in meeting together. To which Baker said, "The servants of God in the apostles' days, were commanded to speak no

more in the name of Jesus ; and they answered, and so do I too, whether it be better to obey God than men, judge ye." He also instanced the case of the three children at Babylon, and Daniel, who obeyed not the king's decrees. But Brown grew so angry, that he commanded his men to smite Daniel on the face. This they did, and pulling him four or five times to the ground, they smote him with their fists, and wrung his neck so, as if they would have murdered him. This these fellows did to please Brown, shewing themselves to be ready for any service, how abominable soever. And Baker reflecting on his travels, signified, that even Turks and heathens would abhor such brutish actions. His fellow prisoners, were also abused by Brown, and then sent to Newgate again. And after some days, they were called to the sessions, where their indictment was read, which like others in such cases, did generally run in these terms: that the prisoners, under pretence of performing religious worship, otherwise than by the laws of the kingdom of England established, unlawfully and tumultuously did gather and assemble themselves together, to the great terror of his majesty's people, and to the disturbance of the peace of the king, in contempt of our said lord the king, and his laws, to the evil example of all others in the like case offending, &c. The indictment bein

read, no witness appeared against the prisoners, save Brown who sat on the bench: and therefore the oath as the ordinary snare, was tendered to them; for it was sufficiently known, that their profession did not suffer them to take any oath. They denying to swear, were sent back to prison, to stay there until they should have taken the oath.

If I would here set down all such like cases as have happened, I might find more work than I should be able to perform: for this vexing with the oath was become so common, that some have been taken up in the streets, and brought to a justice of the peace, that he might tender the oath to them, and in case of denial, send them to prison, though this was directly contrary to the statute of Magna Charta, which expressly saith, "No freeman shall be taken nor imprisoned, or be disseised of his freehold or liberties, but by the law of the land." But this was not regarded by Richard Brown, who did whatever he would; for force and violence were now predominant: and sometimes when the prisoners were brought to the bar, for frequenting meetings, freedom was denied to them to justify themselves; but to be hectorred and baffled was their lot.

Once it happened, that a prisoner, who had been a soldier formerly under Brown, seeing that no justice or equity was observed, called

to him, saying, "That he was not fit to sit on the bench; for he made the son to hang the father at Abingdon; so that he could prove him to be a murderer." This bold saying caused some disturbance in the court, and Brown, how heavy soever the charge was, did not deny the thing in court, nor clear himself from it: yet the other Quaker-prisoners did not approve this upbraiding, but signified, that though the fact were true, yet they were not for reproaching any magistrate upon the bench, whose place and office they did respect and honour. But I do not find that Brown (on that account) ever prosecuted him that spoke so boldly, although otherwise he did whatever he would, without fearing that his fellow-magistrates (who respected him that was a favourite at court) would disclaim it, as may appear by this following instance.

A certain person who had been in a very violent and abusive manner taken to prison by the soldiers out of a meeting, because he was not willing to go, said in the court, that his refusing to go, was because they would not shew him any warrant for their apprehending him; since, for aught he knew, they might be robbers or murderers, with whom he was not bound to go. But Brown, who was for violence, said to this, If they had dragged him through all the kennels in the street, they had served him

right, if he would not go. This he spoke in such a furious manner, that one of the prisoners told him, "Thou hast had many warnings and visitations in the love of God, but hast slighted them; therefore beware of being sealed up in the wrath of God." Hereupon one of the jailors came with his cane, and struck several of the prisoners so hard, that divers of them were much bruised; and it was reported by some, that Brown cried, knock him down, though others (for mitigating it a little) would have it, pull him down. But the former seems most probable; for the blows were so violent, that some of the spectators cried out Murder! murder! and asked, "Will ye suffer men to be murdered in the court?" Whereupon one of the sheriffs in person came down from his seat to stop the beating. But Brown was so desperately filled with anger, that he said to the prisoners, "If any of you be killed, your blood shall be upon your own head:" and the hangman standing by with his gag in his hand, threatened the prisoners to gag any of them that should speak any thing. Thus innocence was forced to give way to violence. And once, when one at the common juridical question, guilty, or not guilty, answered, I deny I am guilty, and I can say I am not guilty; and also in Latin, *non reus sum*. Yet he was sentenced as mute, and fined accordingly, though the words he spoke, fully signified.

not guilty, albeit he had not expressed them in the same terms. But now they were for crossing the Quakers in every respect.

I will yet mention some more instances of Brown's brutality, before I leave him. Another being demanded to answer to his indictment, guilty, or not guilty, and not presently answering, but thinking a little what to speak safely, Brown scoffingly said, "We shall have a revelation by and by." To which the prisoner said, "How long will ye oppose the innocent? How long will ye persecute the righteous seed of God?" But whilst he was speaking, Brown indecently began to cry in the language of those wenches that go crying up and down the streets, "Aha, aha! Will you have any Wallfleet oysters?" And, "have you any kitchen-stuff, maids?" And when a prisoner at the bar said he could not for conscience-sake forbear meeting among the people of God, Brown scurrilously returned, "Conscience,—a dog's tail." And when Alderman Adams speaking to one of the prisoners said, "I am sorry to see you here." "Sorry!" said Brown, "What should you be sorry for?" Yes, said Adams, "He is a sober man." But Brown, who could not endure to hear this, replied, that there was never a sober man amongst them, meaning the Quakers. The spectators, who took much notice of him, discommended this his carriage exceedingly.

But he seemed to be quite hardened ; for at a certain time two persons being upon their trial for robbing a house, he told them, they were the veriest rogues in England, except it were the Quakers.

Sometimes it happened that the prisoners were brought to the bar without being indicted ; and when they said, " What have we done ? " and desired justice ; Brown having no indictment against them, often cried, " Will you take the oath ? " And they then saying, that for conscience-sake they could not swear, were condemned as transgressors, though such proceedings as these, were directly against the law. But this seemed at that time little to be regarded.

However, sometime before it happened at Thetford in the county of Norfolk, that judge Windham, at that time shewing himself just in the like case, sharply reprov'd the justices upon the bench, for having not only committed some persons to prison, but also had them up to the bar, when no accuser appeared against them. But Richard Brown did whatever he would, and shewed himself most furiously wicked, when any prisoner was brought before him with his hat on.

One John Brain, being taken in the street, and not in any meeting, was brought by some soldiers before Brown ; who seeing him with

his hat on, ordered him to be pulled down to the ground six or seven times, and when he was down, they beat his head against the ground and stamped upon him; and Brown, like a madman, bade them pull off his nose; whereupon they very violently pulled him by the nose, and when he was got up, they pulled him to the ground by the hair of his head, and then by the hair pulled him up again. And when he would have spoken in his own behalf against this cruelty: Brown bade them stop his mouth. Whereupon they not only struck him on the mouth, but stopped his mouth and nose also so close that he could not draw breath, and was likely to be choked: at which actions Brown fell a laughing, and at length sent him to gaol.

Thomas Spire being brought before Brown, he commanded his hat to be taken off; and because it was not done with such violence, as he intended, he caused it to be put upon his head again, saying, "It should not be pulled off so easily." Then he was pulled down to the ground by his hat, and pulled up again by his hair. William Hill being brought before him, he commanded his hat to be pulled off, so that his head might be bowed down: whereupon he being pulled to the ground, was plucked up again by the hair of his head. George Ableson was thus pulled five times one after another to the ground, and plucked up by his hair, and so

beaten on his face, or the sides of his head, that he staggered, and bled, and for some days was in much pain.

Nicholas Blithold being brought before Brown he took his hat with both his hands, endeavouring to pull him down to the ground ; and because he fell not quite to the ground forwards, he pushed him, to throw him backwards ; and then he gave him a kick on the leg, and thrust him out of doors. Thomas Lacy being brought before him, he himself gave him a blow on the face ; and Isaac Merrit, John Cook, Arthur Baker, and others, were not treated much better ; so that he seemed more fit to have been a hangman, than an alderman, or justice. But I should grow weary to mention more instances of his cruelty. These his abominable achievements were published in print, more at large than I have mentioned them ; and the book, as hath been said already, was dedicated to him. And yet I do not find any have been prosecuted on that account ; though his wickedness was extravagant, and such as if he wanted to have stakes erected at Smithfield to sell his wood ; being by trade a woodmonger.

In this hot time of persecution, Francis Howgil wrote and gave forth the following paper for the encouragement of his friends.

“ The cogitations of my heart have been many

deep and ponderous, some months, weeks, and days, concerning this people whom the Lord hath raised to bear testimony to his name, in this the day of his power; and intercession hath been made often for them to the Lord, and a patient waiting to know his mind concerning them for the time to come; which often I received satisfaction in as to myself, but yet something I was drawn by the Lord to wait for, that I might comfort and strengthen his flock by an assured testimony. And whilst I was waiting out of all visible things, and quite out of the world in my spirit, and my heart upon nothing but the living God, the Lord opened the springs of the great deep, and overflowed my whole heart with light and love: and my eyes were as a fountain, because of tears of joy, because of his heritage, of whom he shewed me, and said unto me in a full, fresh, living, power, and a holy, full testimony, so that my heart was ravished therewith in joy unspeakable, and I was out of the body with God in his heavenly paradise, where I saw and felt things unutterable, and beyond all demonstration or speech. At last the life closed with my understanding, and my spirit listened unto him; and the everlasting God said, "Shall I hide any thing from those that seek my face in righteousness? Nay I will manifest it to them that fear me; I will speak, do thou listen, and publish it among all my people, that they may

be comforted, and thou satisfied." And thus said the living God of heaven and earth, upon the 28th of the third month, 1662.

"The sun shall leave its shining brightness, and cease to give light to the world; and the moon shall be altogether darkness, and give no light to the night: the stars shall cease to know their office, or place: my covenant with day, night, times and seasons shall sooner come to an end, than the covenant I have made with this people, into which they are entered with me shall end or be broken. Yea though the powers of darkness and hell combine against them, and the jaws of death open its mouth, yet I will deliver them, and lead them through all. I will confound their enemies as I did in Jacob, and scatter them as I did in Israel in the days of old. I will take their enemies, I will hurl them hither and thither, as stones are hurled in a sling: and the memorial of this nation, which is holy unto me, shall never be rooted out, but shall live through ages, as a cloud of witnesses in generations to come. I have brought them to the birth, yea, I have brought them forth; I have swaddled them, and they are mine. I will nourish them, and carry them as on eagle's wings; and though clouds gather against them, I will make my way through them; though darkness gather together as an heap, and tempests gender, I will scatter them as with an east

wind; and nations shall know they are my inheritance, and they shall know I am the living God, who will plead their cause with all that rise up in opposition against them."

"These words are holy, faithful, eternal, good, and true; blessed are they that hear and believe unto the end; and because of them no strength was left in me for a while; but at last my heart was filled with joy, even as when the ark of God was brought from the house of Obed-Edom, when David danced before it, and Israel shouted for joy.

"Francis Howgil."

That this writing of F. Howgil, who was a pious man, of great parts, together with many powerful exhortations of such who valiantly went before, and never left the oppressed flock, tended exceedingly to their encouragement in this hot time of persecution, is certain. For how furious soever their enemies were, yet they continued faithful in supplications and prayers, to God, that he might be pleased to assist them in their upright zeal, who aimed at nothing for self, but from a true fear and reverence before him durst not omit their religious assemblies. And they found that the Lord heard their prayers, insomuch that I remember to have heard one say, that in a meeting where they seemed

to be in danger of death from their fierce persecutors, he was as it were ravished, so that he hardly knew whether he was in or out of the body. They then persevering thus in faithfulness, to what they believed the Lord required of them, in process of time, when their enemies had taken such measures, that they were persuaded they had found out means by which they should suppress and extinguish the Quakers, they saw the Lord God Almighty rise up in their defence, and quash and confound the wicked devices of their cruel persecutors, as will be seen in the course of this history.

In the meanwhile let us take a view of the persecution in Southwark. Here the Quakers' meetings were no less disturbed than in London. Several persons, having been taken from their religious meetings, were committed: and after having been in White-lion prison about nine weeks, were brought to the bar where Richard Onslow sat judge of the sessions. The indictment drawn up against them was as followeth.

“ The jurors for our lord the king do present upon their oath, that Arthur Fisher, late of the parish of St. Olave, in the borough of Southwark, in the county of Surrey, yeoman; Nathaniel Robinson, of the same, yeoman; John Chandler of the same, yeoman; and others, being wicked dangerous, and seditious, sectaries, and disloyal

persons, and above the age of sixteen years, who on the 29th day of June, in the year of the reign of our lord Charles the second, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, &c. the fourteenth, have obstinately refused, and every one of them hath obstinately refused, to repair unto some church, chapel, or usual place of common prayer, according to the laws and statutes of this kingdom of England, in the like case set forth and provided (after forty days next after the end of the session of parliament, begun and holden at Westminster, on the 29th of February, in the year of our lady Elizabeth, late queen of England, the thirty-fifth, and there continued until the dissolution of the same, being the tenth day of April, in the 35th year abovesaid.) To wit, on the third day of August, in the year of the reign of the said Charles, king of England, the fourteenth abovesaid, in the parish of St. Olave aforesaid, in the borough of Southwark aforesaid, in the county aforesaid, of themselves, did voluntarily and unlawfully join in, and were present at an unlawful assembly, conventicle, and meeting, at the said parish of St. Olave, in the county aforesaid, under colour and pretence of the exercise of religion, against the laws and statutes of this kingdom of England, in contempt of our said lord the king that now is, his laws, and to the evil and dangerous example of all others in

the like case, offending against the peace of our said lord the king that now is, his crown and dignity, and contrary to the form of the statute in this same case set forth and provided."

I have inserted this indictment, that the reader may see not only the manner of proceeding, but also with what black and heinous colours the religious meetings of those called Quakers, were represented. This indictment being read, the prisoners desired that they might be tried by the late act of parliament against conventicles. But it was answered they might try them by what they would that was in force. Then the prisoners desired that that statute, (*viz.* the 35th of Elizabeth) might be read. This was done but in part, and it was said to the clerk, It was enough. The prisoners said then, that that act was made in the time of ignorance, when the people were but newly stepped out of popery; and they shewed also how unjustly they were dealt with. Then being required to plead guilty, or not guilty to the indictment, some who were not very forward to answer, were haled out of the court, as taken *pro confessis*; and so sent back to prison. The rest, being twenty two in number, pleaded not guilty. Then the jurymen were called, and when they had excepted against one, the judge would not allow it, because he did not like the

reason they gave, viz. that they saw envy, prejudice, and a vain deportment in him. Another was excepted against, because he was heartily to say, that he hoped ere long, that the Quakers should be arraigned at the bar, and be banished to some land, where there were nothing but bears. At this the court burst out into a laughter; yet the exception was admitted, and the man put by. The prisoners not thinking it convenient to make more exceptions, the jury were sworn, then two witnesses were called, who testified at most, that in such a place they took such persons met together, whose names were specified in writing. Then the prisoners bid the jury, take heed how they did sport or dally with holy things, and that those things, which concerned the conscience, were holy things. And as a man was not to sport with the health or illness of his neighbour, so he was not to sport with the liberty or the banishment of his neighbour. And whereas they were accused of being wicked, dangerous, and seditious sectaries, that was not true; for they were not wicked but such as endeavoured to live soberly, righteously, and godly in the world; concerning the truth of which, they appealed to themselves. Neither were they seditious, but peaceable. And whereas they were charged for not coming to hear the common prayer, this was incongruous; for the service

book was not quite printed several weeks after the said 29 th of June ; so that they could not be charged with neglecting to hear that which was not to be heard read any where. This puzzled the court not a little ; and other pinching reasons were also given by the prisoners, some of whom were men of learning ; insomuch that the judge was not able to answer the objections, but by shifts and evasions. At length the jury went out to consult, and one of them was heard to say, as they were going up stairs, " Here is a deal to do indeed to condemn a company of innocent men."

After some time, the jury coming again, and being asked, whether the prisoners at the bar were guilty, or not guilty, they said, they were guilty in part, and not guilty, in part. But this verdict did not please the judge. The jury then going out again, and prevailing upon one another, quickly returned, and declared the prisoners guilty, according to the form of the indictment. Hereupon the judge Onslow pronounced sentence, viz. That they should return to prison again, and lie there three months without bail ; and if they did not make submission according as the law directed, either at, or before the end of the aforesaid three months, that then they should abjure the realm : but in case they refused to make abjuration, or after abjuration made, should forbear to depart

the realm within the time limited, or should return again without licence, they should be proceeded against as felons.

Just before sentence given, the judge said to one of the prisoners, there was a way to escape the penalty, viz. Submission. And being asked, what that was? the judge answered, "To come to common prayer" and refrain these meetings." The prisoner giving reasons for refusal of both, the judge said, "Then you must abjure the land." "Abjure," returned the prisoner, is "forswear." To which one of the justices said laughingly, "And ye cannot swear at all." just as if it were but jest, thus to treat religious men. But they had signified already to the jury, that they must rather die than do so. How long they were kept prisoners, and how released, I could not learn; but this I know, that many in the like cases have been long kept in jail, till sometimes they were set at liberty by the king's proclamation.

In this year it was the share of John Crook (who himself once had been a justice) to be taken out of a meeting at London in John's street, as hath been said already, by one Miller, though not in office. And he with others was brought to his trial in the said city, before the lord mayor of London, the recorder of the same, the chief justice Forster, and other judges and justices, among whom was also Richard Brown.

Now since J. Crook published this trial in print, and by that we may judge, as *ex ungue leonem*, of other trials of the Quakers, I will give it here at large.

J. Crook being brought to the sessions house in the Old Bailey with two of his friends, viz. Isaac Gray, doctor of physic, and John Bolton, goldsmith: one of the prisoners was called to the bar, and then asked by the

Chief Judge. What meeting was that you were at?

Prisoner. I desire to be heard, where is my accuser?

Ch. Judge. Your tongue is not your own, and you must not have liberty to speak what you list.

Pris. I speak in the presence and fear of the everlasting God, that my tongue is not my own, for it is the Lord's, and to be disposed of according to his pleasure, and not to speak my own words; and therefore I desire to be heard: I have been so long in prison——then he was interrupted by the judge.

Judge. Leave your canting;—and commanded him to be taken away, which he was accordingly, by the jailor. This was the substance of what the prisoner aforesaid spoke the first time.

C. Judge. Call John Crook to the bar;

which the crier did accordingly, he being amongst the felons as aforesaid.

John Crook being brought to the bar ;

C. Judge. When did you take the oath of allegiance?

J. Crook. I desire to be heard.

C. Judge. Answer to the question, and you shall be heard.

J. C. I have been about six weeks in prison, and am I now called to accuse myself? For the answering to this question in the negative, is to accuse myself, which you ought not to put me upon; for, *Nemo debet seipsum prodere*. I am an Englishman, and by the law of England I ought not to be taken, nor imprisoned, nor disseized of my freehold, nor called in question, nor put to answer, but according to the law of the land: which I challenge as my birthright, on my own behalf, and all that hear me this day; (or words to this purpose.) I stand here at this bar as a delinquent, and do desire that my accuser may be brought forth to accuse me for my delinquency, and then I shall answer to my charge, if any I be guilty of.

C. Judge. You are here demanded to take the oath of allegiance, and when you have done that, then you shall be heard about the other; for we have power to tender it to any man.

J. C. Not to me upon this occasion, in this place; for I am brought hither as an offender

already, and not to be made an offender here, or to accuse myself; for I am an Englishman, as I have said to you, and challenge the benefit of the laws of England; for by them is a better inheritance derived to me as an Englishman, than that which I received from my parents; for by the former the latter is preserved; and this is seen in the 29th chapter of Magna Charta, and the petition of right, mentioned in the third of Car. 1. and in other good laws of England; and therefore I desire the benefit and observance of them: and you that are judges upon the bench, ought to be my council, and not my accusers, but to inform me of the benefit of those laws: and wherein I am ignorant, you ought to inform me, that I may not suffer through my own ignorance of those advantages, which the laws of England afford me as an Englishman.

Reader, I here give thee a brief account of my taking and imprisonment, that thou mayst the better judge of what justice I had from the court aforesaid; which is as followeth.

I being in John's street London, about the thirteenth day of the third month (called May) with some other of the people of God, to wait upon him, as we were sat together, there came in a rude man (called Miller) with a long cane in his hand, who laid violent hands upon me, with some others, beating some, commanding

the constables who came in after him; but, having no warrant, were not willing to meddle, but as his threatenings prevailed, they, being afraid of him, joined with him to carry several of us before justice Powel (so called) who the next day sent us to the sessions at Hick's Hall; where after some discourse several times with them, we manifested to them the illegality both of our commitment, and their proceedings thereupon; yet notwithstanding, they committed me and others, and caused an indictment to be drawn against us, founded upon the late act against Quakers and others; and then remanded us to New Prison, where we continued for some days; and then removed us to Newgate, where we remained until the sessions in the Old Bailey aforesaid: whereby thou mayst understand what justice I met withal, by what went before, and now farther follows:

Chief Judge. We sit here to do justice, and are upon our oaths; and we are to tell you what is law, and not you us: therefore, Sirrah, you are too bold.

J. Crook. Sirrah is not a word becoming a judge: for I am no felon; neither ought you to menace the prisoner at the bar; for I stand here arraigned as for my life and liberty, and the preservation of my wife and children, and outward estate, [they being now at the stake]

therefore you ought to hear me to the full, what I can say in my own defence, according to law, and that in its season, as it is given me to speak : therefore I hope the court will bear with me, if I am bold to assert my liberty, as an Englishman, and as a Christian; and if I speak loud, it is my zeal for the truth; and for the name of the Lord; and mine innocency makes me bold—

Judge. It is an evil zeal; interrupting John Crook.

J. C. No, I am bold in the name of the Lord God Almighty, the everlasting Jehovah, to assert the truth, and stand as a witness for it: let my accuser be brought forth, and I am ready to answer any court of justice.—

Then the judge interrupted me, saying, sirrah, with some other words I do not remember? But I answered, You are not to threaten me, neither are those menaces fit for the mouth of a judge; for the safety of the prisoner stands upon the indifferency of the court; and you ought not to behave yourselves as parties, seeking all advantages against the prisoner, but not heeding any thing that may make for his clearing or advantage.—The judge again interrupted me saying,

Judge. Sirrah, you are to take the oath, and here we tender it to you (bidding, read it.

J. C. Let me see mine accuser, that I may

know for what cause I have been six weeks imprisoned, and do not put me to accuse myself by asking me questions ; but either let my accuser come forth, or otherwise let me be discharged by proclamation, as you ought to do— Here I was interrupted again.

Judge Twisden. We take no notice of your being here otherwise than as a straggler, or as any other person, or as the people that are here this day ; for we may tender the oath to any man. And another judge spake to the like purpose.

J. C. I am here at your bar as a prisoner restrained of my liberty, and do question whether you ought in justice to tender me the oath on the account I am now brought before you, because I am supposed to be an offender ; or else why have I been six weeks in prison already ? Let me be cleared of my imprisonment, and then I shall answer to what is charged against me, and to the question now propounded ; for I am a lover of justice with all my soul, and am well known by my neighbours, where I have lived, to keep a conscience void of offence, both towards God, and towards man.

Judge. Sirrah, leave your canting.

J C. Is this canting, to speak the words of the scripture ?

Judge. It is canting in your mouth, though they are Paul's words.

J. C. I speak the words of the Scripture, and it is not canting, though I speak them; but they are words of truth and soberness in my mouth, they being witnessed by me, and fulfilled in me.

Judge. We do ask you again, whether you will take the oath of allegiance? It is but a short question, you may answer if you will.

J. C. By what law have you power to tender it? Then, after some consultation together by whispering, they called for the statute book, and turning over the leaves, they answered,

Judge By the third of king James.

J. C. I desire that statute may be read; for I have consulted it, and do not understand that you have power by that statute to tender me the oath, being here before you in this place, upon this occasion, as a delinquent already; and therefore I desire the judgment of the court in this case, and that the statute may be read.

Judge. Then they took the statute book, and consulted together upon it, and one said, We are the judges of this land, and do better understand our power than you do, and we do judge we may lawfully do it.

J. C. Is this the judgment of the court?

Judge. Yes.

J. C. I desire the statute to be read that empowers you to tender the oath to me upon

this occasion in this place; for, *Vox auditaperit, sed litera scripta manet*, therefore let me hear it read.

Judge. Hear me.

J. C. I am as willing to hear as to speak.

Judge. Then hear me; you are here required to take the oath by the court, and I will inform you what the penalty will be, in the case you refuse; for your first denial shall be recorded, and then it shall be tendered to you again at the end of the sessions; and upon the second refusal you run into a premunire, which is the forfeiture of all your estate, (if you have any) and imprisonment.

J. C. It is justice I stand for; let me have justice, in bringing my' accuser face to face, as by law you ought to do, I standing at your bar as a delinquent; and when that is done, I will answer to what can be charged against me, as also to the question; until then, I shall give no other answer than I have already done, (at least at present.)

Then there was a cry in the court, Take him away, which occasioned a great interruption; and J. Crook spake to this purpose, saying Mind the fear of the Lord God, that you may come to the knowledge of his will, and do justice; and take heed of oppressing the innocent, for the Lord God of heaven and earth will assuredly plead their cause: and for my part, I

desire not the hurt of one of the hairs of your heads; but let God's wisdom guide you. These words he spake at the bar, and as he was carrying away.

On the sixth day of the week, in the forenoon following the court being sat, John Crook was called to the bar.

Chief Judge. Friend Crook, we have given you time to consider of what was said yesterday to you by the court, hoping you may have better considered of it by this time; therefore, without any more words, will you take the oath? And called to the Clerk, and bid him read it.

J. C. I did not, neither do I deny allegiance, but do desire to know the cause of my so long imprisonment; for, as I said, I stand at your bar as a delinquent, and am brought hither by force, contrary to the law; therefore let me see my accuser, or else free me by proclamation, as I ought to be, if none can accuse me: for the law is grounded upon right reason, and whatsoever is contrary to right reason, is contrary to law; and therefore if no accuser appear, you ought to acquaint me first, and then I shall answer, as I have said, if any new matter appear; otherwise it is of force, and that our law abhors, and you ought to take notice of my so being before you; for what is not legally so, it is not

so; and therefore I am in the condition, as if I were not before you: and therefore it cannot be supposed, in right reason, that you have now power at this time, and in this place, legally to tender me the oath.

Judge. Read the oath to him; and so the clerk began to read.

J. C. I desire justice, according to the laws of England; for you ought first to convict me; concerning the cause of my so long imprisonment: for you are to proceed according to laws already made, and not to make laws, for you ought to be ministers of the law.

Judge. You are a saucy and an impudent fellow; will you tell us what is law, or our duties? Then said he to the clerk, read on; and when the clerk had done reading,

J. C. said, Read the preface to the act; I say again, read the title and preamble to the act; for titles to laws are *claves legum*, as keys to open the law; for by their titles, laws are understood and known, as men by their faces. Then the judges would have interrupted me, but I said as followeth: if you will not hear me nor do me justice, I must appeal to the Lord God of heaven and earth, who is judge of quick and dead; before whom we must all appear, to give an account of the deeds done in the body; for he will judge between you and

me this day, whether you have done me justice or not.

These words following (or the like) I spake as going from the bar, being pulled away viz. Mind the fear of the Lord God, that you may do justice, lest you perish in his wrath. For sometimes the court cried, pull him away, and then said, bring him again : and thus they did several times, like men in confusion and disorder.

The same day, in the afternoon, silence being made, John Crook was called to the bar, before the judges and justices aforesaid : the indictment being read, the judge said,

Mr. Crook, you have heard your indictment, what say you ? Are you guilty, or not guilty ?

J. C. I desire to speak a few words in humility and soberness, in regard my estate and liberty lie at stake, and am like to be a precedent for many more ; therefore I hope the court will not deny me the right and benefit of the law, as being an Englishman. I have some reason, before I speak any thing to the indictment, to demand and tell you, that I desire to know mine accusers ; I have been kept these six weeks in prison, and know not, nor have yet seen the faces of them.

Judge. We shall afford you the right of the law, as an Englishman. God forbid you should be denied it ; but you must answer first, guilty,

or not guilty, and so in your trial you may have a fair hearing and pleading; but if you go on as you do, (and will not answer guilty, or not guilty) you will run yourself into a premunire, and then you lose the benefit of the law, and expose yourself, body and estate, to great hazards; and whatever violence is offered to your person or estate, you are out of the king's protection, and lose the benefit of the law; and all this by your not answering guilty, or not guilty. If you plead not guilty, you may be heard.

J. C. It is recorded in the statutes of the 28 Edw. 3. & 3. and 42 Edw. 3. & 3. in these words, No man is to be taken, or imprisoned, or to be put to answer, without presentment before justices, or matter of record, or by due process, or writ original, according to the law of the land; and if any thing from henceforth be done to the contrary, it shall be void in law and holden for error. And also in the 25th of Edw. 1. 2 and the 3 Car. 1. and the 29 cap. Mag. Chart. No freeman shall be taken and imprisoned but by the law of the land: these words [the law of the land] are explained by the statute of 37 Edw. 3. 8. to be, without due process of law; and if any judgments are given contrary to Mag. Chart. they are void 25 Edw. 1. 2.

Judge. Mr. Crook, you are out of the way, and do not understand the law, though you adore

the statute law so much, yet you do not understand it.

J. C. I would have you tell me the right way.

Judge. Mr. Crook hear me you must say, guilty, or not guilty; if you plead not guilty, you shall be heard and know how far the law favours you. And the next thing is, there is no circumstance whatsoever that is the cause of your imprisonment, that you question, but you have, as a subject, your remedies, if you will go this way, and wave other things, and answer guilty, or not guilty; and what the law affords you, you shall have, if you do what the law requires you; or else you will lose the benefit of the law, and be out of the king's protection.

J. C. Observe how the judge would draw me into a snare, viz. guilty, or not guilty, and when I have done so, he and his brethren intend suddenly to put me (as an outlawed person) out of the king's protection: and how then can I have remedy for my false imprisonment? Therefore first clear me (or condemn me) from my false imprisonment, whilst I am in a capacity to have the benefit of the law, and not outlaw me for an offence created by yourselves; and then to stop my mouth, you tell me, that if I have been wronged, or false imprisoned, I may have my remedy afterwards; this is to trepan me, and contrary both to law and justice, &c.

Judge. You must plead guilty, or not guilty.

J. C. I do desire in humility and meekness to say, I shall not; I dare not betray the honesty of my cause, and the honest ones of this nation, whose liberty I stand for, as well as my own; as I have cause to think I shall, if I plead to the present indictment, before I see the faces of my accusers: for truly I am not satisfied in my judgment and conscience, that I ought to plead to a created offence by you, before I be first acquitted of the cause of my being brought prisoner to your bar; and therefore it rests with me to urge this farther, viz. That I may see my accusers,——Interruption.

Judge. The errantest thief may say he is not satisfied in his conscience.

J. C. My case is not theirs, and yet they have their accusers; and may I not call for mine? And therefore call for them, for you ought to do so; as Christ said to the woman, Woman, where are thine accusers? So you ought to say to me, Man, where are thine accusers?——Interrupted.

Judge. Your indictment is your accuser, and the grand jury have found you guilty, because you did not swear: what say you Mr. Crook, are you guilty, or not guilty? If you will not answer, or what you have said, be taken for your answer, as I told you before, you

lose the benefit of the law : and what I tell you, is for your good.

J. C. What is for good, I hope I shall take it so.

Judge. If you will not answer you run yourself into a premunire ; and you will lose the benefit of the law, and of the king's protection, unless you plead guilty, or not guilty.

J. C. I stand as brought forcibly and violently hither ; neither had I been here but by a violent action : and that you shall take no notice of it, seems strange to me ; and not only so, but that you should hasten me so fast into a course that I should not be able any ways to help myself, by reason of your hasty and fast proceedings against me, to put me out of the king's protection, and the benefit of all law : was ever the like known, or heard of in a court of justice ?

Judge. Friend, this is not here in question, whether you are unjustly brought here, or not : do you question that by law, but not disable yourself to take advantage by the law : if brought by a wrong hand you have a plea against them ; but you must first answer guilty, or not guilty.

J. C. How can I help myself, when you have outlawed me ? Therefore let proclamation be made, that I was brought by force hither, and let me stand cleared by proclamation, as you

ought to do ; for you are *discernere per legem, quid sit justum**, and not to what seems good in your own eyes—here I was interrupted again; but might have spoken justice Crook's words in Hampden's case, who said, That we who are judges speak upon our oaths, and therefore must deliver our judgments according to our consciences ; and the fault will lie upon us, if it be illegal, and we deliver it for law : and further said, We that are judges must not give our judgments according to policy, or rules of state or conveniences, but only according to law. These were his words, which I might have spoken ; but was interrupted.

Judge. What, though no man tendered the oath to you, when you were committed, (as you say) it being now tendered to you ; from the time you refused it, being tendered to you by a lawful authority, you refusing, are indicted : we look not upon what you are here for, but here finding you, we tender you the oath ; and you refusing it, your imprisonment is now just, and according to law. (Something omitted which I spoke afterwards.)

J. C. How came I here, if you know not ? I have told you it is force and violence, which our law altogether condemns ; and therefore I not being legally before, am not before you ; for

*To determine by law what is just.

what is not legally so, is not so; and I not being legally brought to your bar, you ought not to take notice of my being here.

Judge. No, no, you are mistaken: so you may say of all the people gazing here, they not being legally here, are not here: I tell you a man being brought by force hithe, we may tender him the oath; and if he take it not, he may be committed to prison: authority hath given us the power, and the statute law hath given us authority to tender the oath to any person, and so we have tendered it to you, and for your not taking it you are indicted by the grand jury: answer the accusation or confute the indictment; you must do the one or the other; answer guilty, or not guilty.

J. C. Here I was interrupted, but might have said, That the people that were spectators, beholding and hearing the trials, are not to be called gazers, as the judge terms them; because it is their liberty and privelege, as they are Englishmen, and the law of England allows the same: so that they are not to be termed gazers on this account, but are legally in that place to hear trials, and see justice done, and might have spoken (if occasion had been) any thing in the prisoner's defence, tending to clear up the matter in difference, and the court must have heard them or him: and this as a stander by, or *amicus curiæ*; as saith Cook.

J. C. The law is built upon right reason, or right reason is the law; and whatever is contrary to right reason is contrary to law; the reason of the law being the law itself. I am no lawyer, and my knowledge of it is but little, yet I have had a love to it for that reason I have found in it, and have spent some leisure hours in the reading thereof; and the law is that which I honour, and is good in its place; many laws being just and good (not all) but, I say, a great part of them, or much of them; and it is not my intention in the least to disparage, or derogate from them.

Judge. Mr. Crook, you have been told, you must plead guilty, or not guilty, or else you, run yourself into a premunire; be not your own enemy, nor be so obstinate.

J. C. I would not stand obstinately before you, neither am I so; if you understand it otherwise, it is a mistake indeed.

Judge. Will you speak to the indictment, and then you may plead? If you will not answer guilty, or not guilty, we will record it, and judgment shall go against you. Clerk, enter him.

Recorder. Mr. Crook, if you will answer, you may plead for yourself; or will you take the oath? The court takes no notice how you came hither: what say you? Will you answer? For a man may be brought out of Smithfield

by head and shoulders, and the oath tendered to him and may be committed, without taking notice how he came here.

J. C. That kind of proceeding is not only unjust but unreasonable also—(here was some interruption) and against the laws aforesaid, which say, No man shall be taken or imprisoned, but by warrant, or due process of law : so that this speech of the recorder's savours more of passion than of justice ; and cruelty, than due observance of law ; for every forcible restraint of a man's liberty, is an imprisonment in law. Besides, this kind of practice, to take men by force, and imprison them, and then ask them questions, the answering of which makes them guilty, is not only unrighteous in itself, but against law and makes one evil act the ground of another ; and one injury offered to one, the foundation of another ; and this is my case this day—Interruption.

Judge. Mr. Crook, you must not be your own judge, we are your judges ; but for our parts we will not wrong you : will you answer guilty, or not guilty ? If not, you will run yourself into a premunire unavoidably, and then you know what I told you would follow ; for we take no notice how you came hither, but finding you here, we tender you the oath.

J. C. Then it seems you make the law a 'repan to insnare me, or as a nose of wax, or

what you please: well! I shall leave my cause with the Lord God, who will plead for me in righteousness. But suppose I do take the oath [now] at this time, you may call me again [to-morrow] and make a new tender; or others may call me before them.

Judge. Yes, if there be new matter; or if there fall out any emergent occasion, whereby you may minister on your part new occasion: Mr. Crook, will you swear?

J. C. If I do take it to-day it may be tendered to me again to-morrow, and so next day, *ad infinitum*, whereby a great part of my time may be spent and taken up, in taking the oath and swearing.

C. Judge. When you have [once] sworn, you may not be put upon it again, except you minister occasion on your part.

J. C. Is this the judgment of the court, that the oath [once] taken by me is sufficient, and ought not to be tendered a second time, without new matter ministered on my part?

Judge. Yes; you making it appear you have [once] taken it.

J. C. Is this the judgment of the whole court? For I would not do any thing rashly.

Judges. Yes, it is the judgment of the court; to which they all standing up, said, Yes.

J. C. Then it seems there must be some new occasion ministered by me after I have

[once] taken it, or it ought not to be tendered to me the second time.

Judges. Yes.

J. C. Then by the judgment of this court, if I may make it appear that I have taken the oath [once] and I have ministered no new matter on my part, whereby I can be justly charged with the breach of it, then it ought not to be tendered to me the second time: but I am the man that have taken it [once] being a freeman of the city of London, when I was made free; witness the records in Guildhall, which I may produce, and no new matter appearing to you on my part; if there do, let me know it; if not, you ought not, by your own judgment, to tender it me the second time; for *de non apparentibus, & non existentibus eadem ratio est.*—Interrupted by the shout of the court, when these last words might have been spoken.

Judge. Mr. Crook, you are mistaken, you must not think to surprise the court with criticisms, nor draw false conclusions from our judgments.

J. C. If this be not a natural conclusion from the judgment of the court, let right reason judge; and if you recede from your own judgments in the same breath (as it were) given even now, what justice can I expect from you? For, if you will not be just to yourselves, and

your own judgments, how can I expect you should be just to me?

Judge. Mr. Crook, If you have taken it, if there be a new emergency, you are to take it again; as for instance, the king hath been out of England, and now is come in again; there be many that have taken it twenty, thirty, or forty years since, yet this new emergency requires it again; and although you have taken it, yet you must not make it appear before you answer guilty, or not guilty; therefore do not wrong yourself, and prejudice yourself and family; do you think that every fellow that comes hither, shall argue as you do? We have no more to do, but to know of you, whether you will answer guilty, or not guilty, or take the oath, and then you shall be freed from the indictment: if you will not plead, clerk, record it; what say you? Are you guilty, or not guilty?

J. C. Will you not stand for your own judgments? Did you not say, even now, that if I had once taken the oath, it ought not to be tendered to me the second time, except I administered new matter on my part that I have not kept it, &c. But no such matter appearing, you ought not to tender it to me the second time, by your own confession, much less to indict me for refusal.

Judge. If you will not plead, we will record

it, and judgment shall be given against you; therefore say, guilty, or not guilty, or else we will record it. (The clerk beginning to record it.)

J. C. Before I answer, I demand a copy of my indictment; for I have heard it affirmed by counsel learned in the law, that if I plead before I have a copy, or have made my exceptions, my exceptions afterwards against the indictment will be made void: therefore I desire a copy of the indictment.

Judge. He that said so, deserves not the name of a counsel: for the law is, you must first answer, and then you shall have a copy. Will you plead guilty, or not guilty?

J. C. If my pleading guilty, or not guilty, will not deprive me of the benefit of quashing the indictment for insufficiency, or other exceptions that I may make against it, I shall speak to it.

Judge. No it will not. Will you answer, guilty, or not guilty. If you plead not, the indictment will be found against you: will you answer? We will stay no longer.

J. C. I am upon the point: will not my pleading deprive me of the benefit of the law? For I am tender in that respect, because it is not my own case [only] but may be the case of thousands more; therefore I would do nothing

that might prejudice others, or myself, as a Christian, or as an Englishman.

Judge. Understand yourself, (but we will not make a bargain with you, said another judge) you shall have the right done you as an Englishman, the way is to answer, guilty, or not guilty : if you plead, and find the indictment not good, you may have your remedy : answer, guilty, or not guilty ?

J. C. As to the indictment it is very large, and seems to be confused, and made up of some things true, and some things false ; my answer therefore is, what is true in the indictment I will not deny, because I make conscience of what I say, and therefore, of what is true, I confess myself guilty, but what is false, I am not guilty of.

Judge. That is not sufficient ; either answer guilty, or not guilty, or judgment will be given against you.

J. C. I will speak the truth, as before the Lord, as all along I have endeavoured to do : I am not guilty of that which is false, contained in the indictment, which is the substance thereof.

Judge. No more ado ; the form is nothing, guilty or not ?

J. C. I must not wrong my conscience I am not guilty of what is false, as I said before ; what is true, I am guilty of ; what is not true,

I am not guilty of that ; which is the substance thereof, as I said before.

Recorder. It is enough, and shall serve turn. Enter that, clerk.

The seventh day of the week called Saturday.

Silence being made John Crook was called to the bar. The clerk of the sessions read something concerning the jury, which was empaneled on purpose (as was said) the jury being discharged who were eyewitnesses of what passed between us and the court : and this jury, being divers of them soldiers, some of whom did by violence and force pull and hale friends out of their meetings, and some of us out of our houses ; and these were of the jury by whom we were to be tried. The clerk reading the indictment (as I remember.)

J. C. I desire to be heard a few words, which are these, That we may have liberty till the next quarter sessions to traverse the indictment, it being long, and in Latin, and like to be a precedent : and I hope I need not press it, because I understood that you promised (and especially the recorder, who answered, when it was desired, you shall) that we should have counsel also, the which we cannot be expected to have had the benefit of, as yet the time being so short, and we kept prisoners, that we could

not go forth to advise with counsel, neither could we tell how to get them to us ; we having no copy of the indictment before this morning ; and because so suddenly hurried down to the sessions, we cannot reasonably be supposed to be provided (as to matter of law,) to make our defence.

Judge. We have given your time enough, and you shall have no more ; for we will try you at this time, therefore swear the jury.

J. C. I desire we may have justice, and that we may not be surprised in our trial, but that we may have time till the next quarter sessions, our indictment being in Latin, and so large as it is ; and this is but that which is reasonable, and is the practice of other courts ; For, if it be but an action above forty shillings, it is not ordinarily ended under two or three terms. And in the quarter sessions, if one be indicted for a trespass, if it be but to the value of five shillings, he shall have liberty to enter his traverse, and, upon security given to prosecute, he shall have liberty till the next sessions, which is the ordinary practice, which liberty we desire, and we hope it is so reasonable, it will not be denied, especially upon this occasion, we being like to be made a precedent : and courts of justice have used to be especially careful in making of precedents ; for we are

not provided, according to law, to make our defence at this time ; and therefore if we be put upon it, it will be a surprisal.

Judge. There is no great matter of law in the case ; it is only matter of fact, whether you have refused to take the oath or not ; that is the point in issue : and what law can arise here ?

Recorder. Mr. Crook, the keeper of the prison was spoken to, to tell you, that we intended to try you this day, and therefore ordered him that counsel might come to you if you would ; and also that the clerk should give you a copy of the indictment : this is fair ; therefore we will go on to swear the jury, for the matter is, whether you refuse the oath, or not ? And that is the single point, and there needs neither law nor counsel in the case ; and therefore we considered of it last night, when we sent you word, and did determine to try you ; and therefore it is in vain to say any thing, for the court is resolved to try you now ; therefore swear the jury, crier.

J. C. I hope you will not surprise us : then the other prisoners (who also were indicted) cried out, (having spoken something before,) let us have justice, and let not the jury be sworn till we be first heard. So there was a great noise, the court being in a confusion, some crying, Take them away ; others, Stay, let them alone ; others saying, Go on to swear

the jury ; and the crier in this uproar and confusion did do something as if he had done it : then we all cried out for justice and liberty till the next sessions ; the court being in a confusion, some crying one thing and some another, which now cannot be called to mind, by reason of the great distraction that was in the court ; neither what we said to them, nor they to us, the noise was so great, and the commands of the court so various to the officers, some commanding them, To take us away ; others, To let us alone ; others, To bring us nearer ; others cried, Put them into the bail-dock ; others, To put them within the farthest bar where the felons use to stand ; which we were forced into accordingly, And in this hurliburly and confusion that was amongst them, some men were sworn, to testify that we refused to take the oath, which we never positively did ; other officers of the court, whom they would have sworn, refused to swear ; though pressed to it by the chief justice, they desired to be excused. Then spake one of the prisoners again pretty much, but could hardly be understood, by reason of the noise in the court ; but the people, to whom he spake with a loud voice, by way of exhortation, might hear the substance of what he said, which cannot now particularly be called to mind ; but it was to express the presence and love of God to himself, and to exhort

others to mind his fear, that they also might be acquainted with God, &c.

Judge. Stop his mouth, executioner. Which was accordingly done.

Prisoners. Then we cried out, will you not give us leave to speak for ourselves? We except against some of the jury, as being our enemies, and some of them who by force commanded us to be pulled out of our meetings, contrary to law, and carried us to prison without warrant, or other due process of law; and shall these be our judges? We except against them.

Judge. It is too late now, you should have done it before they had been sworn jurymen. Jury, go together, that which you have to find, is whether they have refused to take the oath, or no, which hath been sworn before you that they did refuse: you need not go from the bar. And the like words said the recorder and others, there being a confusion and noise in the court, many speaking together.

Prisoners. Then we cried for justice, and that we might be heard, to make our defence, before the jury-gave their verdict; but the judge and recorder said, we should not be heard (making good by their practice, what the chief judge had said the day before, viz. That if we had liberty to speak, we would make ourselves famous, and them odious) crying again,

stop their mouths, executioner; which was done accordingly, with a dirty cloth, and also endeavoured to have gagged me, striving to get hold of my tongue, having a gag ready in his hand for that purpose; and so we were served several times. Then I called out with a loud voice, Will you condemn us without hearing? This is to deal worse with us, than Pilate did with Christ, who, though he condemned him without a cause, yet not without hearing him speak for himself; but you deny us both.

Judge. Let Mr. Gray come to the bar. Room being made, he was conveyed to an officer in the inner bar, where he spake to the court to this purpose: I desire to know whether, according to law, and the practice of this court, myself and my fellow prisoners, may have liberty to put in bail, to prosecute our traverse at the next sessions?

Court. No, we will try you presently.

Judge. Stop their mouths, executioner: and this was the cry of many upon the bench, they being still in a continued confusion; some crying to the jury, Give in your verdict, for we will not hear them; with other words, which could not be heard for the noise, the court being in confusion.

J. C. You might as well have caused us to have been murdered before we came hither,

as to bring us hither under pretence to try us, and not give us leave to make our defence; you had as good take away our lives at the bar, as to command us thus to be abused, and to have our mouths stopped: was ever the like known? Let the righteous God judge between us. Will you hear me? You have often promised that you would.

Judge. Hear me, and we will hear you: then he began to speak, and some others of the bench interrupted him; sometimes they speaking two or three at a time, and a noise amongst the officers of the court: but the judge said, We may give you liberty till the next sessions, but we may choose; and therefore we will try you now.

J. C. I bade the people take notice of their promise, That I should have liberty to speak, saying, See now you be as good as your words.

Judge. The law of England is not only just but merciful; and therefore you shall not be surprised, but shall have what justice the law allows—Interruption.

J. C. I remember what the judge said even now, That the law of England was a merciful law; that the court had said before, They might if they would, give us liberty till the next sessions, but they would not; and the maxim of the law also is, *Summum jus, est summa injuria*; therefore I hope your practice will make

it good, that it is a merciful law; and not to execute *summum jus*, &c. upon me, and thereby condemn yourselves out of your own mouths.

Judge. Jury, give in your verdict.

J. C. Let me have liberty first to speak, it is but few words, and I hope I shall do it with that brevity and pertinency my understanding will give me leave, and the occasion requires; it is to the point on these two heads, viz. Matter of law, and matter of conscience: to matter of law, I have this to say, First, as to the statute itself, it was made against the Papists occasioned by the gunpowder plot, and is entitled, for the better discovery and suppression of Popish Recusants: but they have liberty, and we are destroyed, what in you lies.—(Interrupted by the judges, and disturbance of the court.) As to conscience, I have something to say, and that is, it is a tender thing, and we have known what it is to offend it; and therefore we dare not break Christ's commands, who hath said, Swear not at all, and the apostle James said, Above all things my brethren swear not.—(Interrupted) The court calling again to the executioner to stop my mouth; which he did accordingly with his dirty cloth, as aforesaid, and his gag in his hand.

Judge. Hear the jury; who said something to him, which was supposed to give in the verdict, according to his order; for they were fit

for his purpose as it seems, they beginning to lay their heads together, before we had spoken any thing to them, only upon his words.

Judge. Crier, make silence in the court; then the recorder, taking a paper into his hand, read to this purpose, viz. The jury for the king do find that John Crook, John Bolton, and Isaac Gray, are guilty of refusing to take the oath of allegiance; for which you do incur a premunire, which is the forfeiture of all your real estates during life, and your personal estates for ever; and you be out of the king's protection, and to be imprisoned during his pleasure: and this is your sentence.

J. C. But we are still under God's protection.

Then the prisoners were remanded to Newgate, where J Crook found an opportunity to make a narrative of the whole trial, which was printed as aforesaid, together with the Latin indictment, in which he shewed several errors, either in wrong expressions, or omissions. Thus the injustice of these proceedings were exposed to public view, when this trial appeared in print; that the king himself might see thereby, how ill his subjects were treated. But at that time there were so many among the great ones and bishops, who were inclined to promote the extermination of the Quakers, that there seemed

no human help. J. Crook shewed also circumstantially, how in many cases of the trial, they had acted against law ; for he himself had formerly been a justice, and knew well how, and after what manner, justice ought to be administered and maintained. How long he continued prisoner-I cannot tell. But by this trial alone the reader may see how the Quakers, so called, were treated in regard to the oath ; and such kind of proceedings was the lot of many of them, because the intent of those in authority seemed to be to suppress them quite.

By this and the like treatment, we see how the persecutors endeavoured to root out the Quakers, if possible ; for the effecting of which, alderman Richard Brown did whatever he could, continually letting loose the reins to his exorbitant malice, without regarding whether that which he was bent against was really punishable or not, whereof the following instance may serve for an evidence.

A certain mender of old shoes, who belonged to the society of the Quakers, was desired by a labouring man on the seventh day of the week, late at night, to mend a pair of shoes for him, that he might have them again in the morning, because he had no others to wear. The cobbler, to accomodate the man, sat up at work till after midnight ; but the shoes not being

finished then, he went to bed, and rising early in the morning, went to his work again as privately as he could in his chamber; but an envious neighbour informed against him for working on a Sunday; whereupon he was had before the said Richard Brown, who committed him to Bridewell, to be there kept to hard labour. And he refusing to beat hemp, as being fully persuaded that he had not deserved such a punishment, was cruelly whipped, but he bore it with great constancy, and not yielding, he was turned up among those of his own society, who were imprisoned there on a religious account.

As this case which befel an honest man, was to be pitied, so there happened about that time, something among the Quakers in London, which was facetious and ridiculous; for several of them being taken out of their religious meetings were confined in Newgate, where in the night they lodged in a large room, having in the middle of it a great pillar, to which they fastened their hammocks at the one end, and to the opposite wall on the other, quite round the room, in three stories high, one over another; so that they who lay in the upper and middle rows, were fain to go to bed first, being obliged to climb up to the higher, by getting into the lower; and under the lower rank of hammocks, by the wall side, were laid beds upon the floor. Such a multitude of bedding for so many per-

sons in one room, could not but somewhat infect the air, and cause an unhealthy steam ; so that some of the prisoners grew sick, and one of them died. This caused some bustle, and it was not without good reason, that an ancient, grave citizen, having seen the prisoners thus crowded up, said. "This is enough to have bred an infection among them." And this having been told to sir William Turner, one of the sheriffs of London, he came into Newgate, and bidding the turnkey bring down the said prisoners to him in the press yard, where he was, he ordered they should return to Bridewell, where they had been before.

Now among these was a shabby fellow, who, to get victuals without working, had thrust himself among the Quakers, when they were taken at a meeting, on purpose to be sent to prison, and to be maintained by them. This lazy varlet was no small burthen to our prisoners ; for whenever any victuals were brought into them, either for their money, or sent to them by their friends, he did not stick to thrust in with his knife in hand, and make himself his own carver ; and such was his impudence, that if he saw the provision was short, he would be sure to take enough, though others wanted. But how burthensome soever this lazy drone was to the prisoners, they could get no relief ; for to whom should they complain ? Since the keepers, as well as others, were for vexing and

oppressing them. But now at length an opportunity was come to be rid of his troublesome company. Among the prisoners was Thomas Ellwood, a man of literature, and of an acute wit, with whom, long after, I entered into a familiar and pleasing correspondence by letters. The said Ellwood, when he had heard that they were to be sent to Bridewell, drew near to the sheriff, and pointing to the aforesaid fellow, said, "That man is not only none of our company, but an idle dissolute fellow, who hath thrust himself among our friends, that he might live upon them; therefore I desire we may not be troubled with him at Bridewell." The sheriff smiling, and seeing this fellow standing with his hat on, and looking as demurely as he could, that the sheriff might take him for a Quaker, called him forth, and said to him, "How came you to be in prison?" I was taken at a meeting, said he. But what business had you there, said the sheriff. I went to hear, returned the fellow. Aye, you went upon a worse design, it seems, replied the sheriff; but I will disappoint you, continued he; for I will change your company, and send you to them that are like yourself. Then calling for the turnkey, he said, "Take this fellow, and put him among the felons; and be sure let him not trouble the Quakers any more." The fellow not a little astonished at hearing of this doom, on a sudden

parted with his Quakership ; for off went his hat, and falling to bowing and scraping, he said to the sheriff, "Good your worship have pity upon me, and set me at liberty." "No, no," said the sheriff, "I will not so far disappoint you : since you had a mind to be in prison, in prison you shall be for me." Then bidding the turnkey once more to take him away, he had him up, and put him among the felons. After this manner this pretended Quaker was rewarded according to his deeds ; and so the true Quakers got rid of him.

Breaking off now this jocose and diverting, though true narrative, I return to a serious relation of the sufferings of the faithful, which caused the death of some of them, among these was Richard Hubberthorn, who some time before, as hath been related, had a conference with the king, who then promised him, that he and his friends should not suffer for their opinions or religion. But now he was in the month called June, violently haled from the meeting, bearing the name of the Bull and Mouth, and brought before alderman Richard Brown, who with his own hands pulled down his hat upon his head with such violence, that he brought his head near to the ground, and then committed him to Newgate, where being thronged among others, he soon grew sick ; and his sickness so increased, than he had hardly been two months in

prison, before he was taken away by death. Two days before his departure, being visited by some of his friends, who asked him if any thing was upon his spirit, he said, "That there was no need to dispute matters, for he knew the ground of his salvation, and was satisfied for ever in his peace with the Lord." He also said, "That faith which hath wrought my salvation, I well know, and have grounded satisfaction in it." In the morning before he departed, one Sarah Blackberry was with him, to whom he said, "Do not seek to hold me, for it is too strait for me, and out of this straitness I must go; for I am wound into largeness, and am to be lifted up on high, far above all." In this frame of mind he departed this life, in the evening, and so entered with happiness into eternity.

Now I come also to the glorious exit of E. Burrough, that valiant hero, of whom mention hath often been made in this history. For several years he had been very much in London, and there preached the gospel with piercing and powerful declarations. And that city was so near to him, that oftentimes, when persecution grew hot, he said to Francis Howgil, his bosom friend, "I can freely go to the city of London, and lay down my life for a testimony of that truth, which I have declared through the power and spirit of God." Being in this year at Bristol, and thereabouts, and moved to

return to London, he said to many of his friends, when he took his leave of them, That he did not know he should see their faces any more ; and therefore he exhorted them, to faithfulness and steadfastness, in that wherein they had found rest for their souls. And to some he said, "I am now going up to the city of London again, to lay down my life for the gospel, and suffer amongst friends in that place."

Not long after coming to London, and preaching in the meeting house called the Bull and Mouth, he was violently pulled down by some soldiers, and had before alderman Richard Brown, and committed to Newgate. Several weeks afterwards, being brought to the sessions house in the Old Bailey, he was fined by the court twenty marks, and to lie in prison till payment. But judging this unreasonable in a high degree, he could not bend thereto for conscience sake. He was kept there in prison about eight months, with six or seven score prisoners besides, upon the same account. But they being so crowded, that for want of room their natures were suffocated, many grew sick and died, of which number he was one. And though a special order from the king, was sent to the sheriffs of London, for his and some other prisoners release, yet such was the enmity of some of the city magistrates, especially Brown, that they did what was in their power to prevent

the execution of the said order. And thus E. Burrough continued prisoner, though his sickness increased. During the time of his weakness, he was very fervent in prayer, as well for his friends as for himself; and many consolatory and glorious expressions proceeded from his mouth. Once he was heard to say, "I have had the testimony of the Lord's love unto me from my youth; and my heart, O Lord, hath been given up to do thy will. I have preached the gospel freely in this city, and have often given up my life for the gospel's sake; and now, O Lord, rip open my heart, and see if it be not right before thee." At another time he said, "There is no iniquity lies at my door; but the presence of the Lord is with me, and his life I feel justifies me." Another time he was thus heard in prayer to God, "Thou hast loved me when I was in the womb; and I have loved thee faithfully in my generation." And to his friends that were about him, he said, "Live in love and peace, "The Lord taketh the righteous from the evil to come." And praying for his enemies and persecutors, he said, "Lord forgive Richard Brown, if he may be forgiven." And being sensible that death was approaching, he said, "Though this body of clay must turn into dust, yet I have a testimony that I have served God in my generation; and that spirit which hath lived and acted, and ruled in me, shall yet break

forth in thousands." The morning before he departed his life, (which was about the latter end of this year) he said, "Now my soul and spirit is centered into its own being with God ; and this form of person must return from whence it was taken." And after a little season he gave up the ghost. This was the exit of E. Burrough, who in his flourishing years, viz. about the age of eight and twenty ; in an unmarried state, changed this mortal life for an incorruptible, and whose youthful summer flower was cut down in the winter season, after he had very zealously preached the gospel about ten years.

About the 19th year of his age, he first came to London with a public testimony, and continued almost eight years together to preach the word of God in that city, with great success, so that many came to be convinced, and a great addition was made to the church there. In his youth he surpassed others of his age in knowledge, and though G. Croese, who wrote the pretended history of the Quakers, calls him a rustic fellow, yet he was no more such than the said author himself, who is a country preacher : for he was well educated and instructed in that learning which the place of his nativity, viz. the barony of Kendal in Westmoreland, afforded. Inso-much, that though he was not skilful in languages yet he had the tongue of the learned ; and in

his public ministry was very fluent, and elegant in speech, even according to the judgment of learned men.

His enemies now began to rejoice, for they seemed to imagine that the progress of that doctrine, which he so powerfully and successfully had preached, by his decease would have been stopped or retarded: but they made a wrong reckoning. Francis Howgil then gave forth a kind of *epicedium*, which though in prose, yet was not void of poetical expressions, and was as followeth.

“ Shall days, or months, or years, wear out thy name, as though thou hadst no being? Oh nay! Shall not thy noble and valiant acts, and mighty works which thou hast wrought through the power of him that separated thee from the womb, live in generations to come? O yes! The children that are yet unborn, shall have thee in their mouths, and thy works shall testify of thee in generations, who yet have not a being, and shall count thee blessed. Did thy life go, out as the snuff of a candle? O nay. Thou hast penetrated the hearts of many, and the memorial of the just shall live for ever, and be had in renown among the children of men for ever: for thou hast turned many to righteousness, and shall shine as a star of God in the firmament of God's power, for ever and ever; and they

that are in that, shall see thee there, and enjoy thee there, though thou be gone away hence, and canst no more be seen in mutability; yet thy life and thy spirit shall run parallel with immortality. Oh Edward Burrough! I cannot but mourn for thee, yet not as one without hope or faith, knowing and having a perfect testimony of thy well being in my heart, by the spirit of the Lord; yet thy absence is great and years to come shall know the want of thee. Shall I not lament as David did for a worse man than thee, even for Abner; when in wrath he perished by the hand of Joab, without any just cause, though he was a valiant man? David lamented over Abner, and said, died Abner as a fool dieth? (Oh nay! He was betrayed of his life.) Even so hast thou been bereaved of thy life by the hand of the oppressor, whose habitations are full of cruelty. Oh my soul, come not thou within their secret, for thy blood shall be required at the hands of them who thirsted after thy life; and it shall cry as Abel's, who was in the faith; even so wert thou, it shall weigh as a ponderous millstone upon their necks, and shall crush them under, and be as a worm that gnaweth, and shall not die. When I think upon thee, I am melted into tears of true sorrow; and because of the want that the inheritance of the Lord hath of thee, my substance is even as dissolved. Shall I not say as David did of

Saul and Jonathan, when they were slain in mount Gilboa, the beauty of Israel is slain upon the high places : even so wast thou stifled in nasty holes, and prisons, and many more, who were precious in the eyes of the Lord : and surely precious wast thou to me, oh dear Edward ; I am distressed for thee my brother, very pleasant hast thou been to me, and my love to thee was wonderful, passing the love of women : oh thou whose bow never turned back, nor sword empty from the blood of the slain, from the slaughter of the mighty ; who made nations and multitudes shake with the word of life in thy mouth, and thou wast very dreadful to the enemies of the Lord ; for thou didst cut like a razor, and yet to the seed of God brought forth, thy words dropped like oil, and thy lips as the honeycomb. Thou shalt be recorded amongst the valiants of Israel, who attained to the first degree, through the power of the Lord, that wrought mightily in thee in thy day, and thou wast worthy of double honour, because of thy works. Thou wast expert to handle thy weapon, and by thee the mighty have fallen, and the slain of the Lord have been many ; many have been pricked to the heart through the power of the word of life ; and coals of fire from thy life came forth of thy mouth, that in many a thicket, and among many briars and thorns it came to be kindled, and did devour much stubble that

cumbered the ground, and stained the earth. Oh how certain a sound did thy trumpet give ! And how great an alarm didst thou give in thy day, that made the host of the uncircumcised greatly distressed ! What man so valiant, though as Goliath of Gath, would not thy valour have encountered with, while many despised thy youth ? And how have I seen thee with thy sling and thy stone (despised weapons to war with) wound the mighty ! And that which hath seemed contemptible to the dragon's party, even as the jaw bone of an ass, with it thou hast slain the Philistines heaps upon heaps, as Sampson. Thou hast put thy hand to the hammer of the Lord, and hast often fastened nails in the heads of the Lamb's enemies, as Jael did to Sisera ; and many a rough stone hast thou polished and squared, and made it fit for the buildings of God ; and much knotty wood hast thou hewed in thy day, which was not fit for the building of God's house. Oh thou prophet of the Lord, thou shalt for ever be recorded in the Lamb's book of life, among the Lord's worthies, who have followed the Lamb through great tribulations, as many can witness for thee from the beginning ; and at last hath overcome, and art found worthy to stand with the Lamb upon mount Sion, the hill of God ; as I have often seen thee, and thy heart well tuned as a harp, to praise the Lord, and to sound forth

his great salvation, which many a time hath made glad the hearts of them that did believe, and strengthened their faith and hope. Well, thou art at rest, and bound up in the bundle of life; and I know tears were wiped away from thy eyes, because there was no cause of sorrow in thee: for I know thou witnessedst the old things done away, and there was no curse, but blessings were poured upon thy head as rain, and peace as a mighty shower, and trouble was far from thy dwelling; though in the outward man trouble on every side, and thou hast had a greater share in that, for the gospel's sake (though a youth in thy time) than many besides: but now thou art freed from that, and hast obtained a name through faith, with the saints in light. Well hadst thou more to give up than thy life for the name of Jesus in this world? Nay: and to seal the testimony committed unto thee with thy blood, as thou hast often said in thy day, which shall remain as a crown upon thee for ever and ever. And now thou art freed from the temptations of him who had the power of death; and from thy outward enemies, who hated thee because of the love that dwelt in thee, and thou remainest at the right hand of God, where there is joy and pleasure for evermore in the everlasting light, which thou hast often testified unto, according to the word of prophecy in thy heart, which was given unto

thee by the Holy Ghost ; and thou art at rest in the perfection thereof, in the beauty of holiness : yet thy life and thy spirit I feel as present, and have unity with it, and in it, beyond all created and visible things, which are subject to mutation and change ; and thy life shall enter into others, to testify unto the same truth, which is from everlasting to everlasting ; for God hath raised, and will raise up children unto Abraham, of them that have been as dead stones ; His power is Almighty, great in his people in the midst of their enemies.

With these sublime expressions F. Howgil lamented his endeared friend E. Burrough.

In the latter end of this year, William Ames also died at Amsterdam, having left England in a weak condition, for he had suffered so much hardship at Bridewell, in London, that his health was impaired when he came into Holland. In his sickness, which was a lingering disease, he was told, that amongst the Baptists and collegians, it was said of him, That he had changed his judgment, and was grieved for having judged them wrongfully. But to this he said, "It was not so ; but that he still judged their way of worship, especially their disputations and will worship, to be out of the way of the Lord." And in this belief he died in peace.

In his youth he was of a cheerful temper, and a lover of such company : but being in that condition often disquieted in his mind, he became a closer follower of the priests and teachers, and exercised himself diligently in reading the holy Scriptures, which, though good in itself, yet did not bring him to true peace with God ; but being of a quick understanding, he could talk much out of them, insomuch, that entering into society with the Baptists, he became a teacher among them. . Now though he was more precise, and endeavoured to avoid the committing of sins, yet he found that root, from whence they sprung remained alive in him ; for when he met with something that was contrary to his own will or mind, anger soon prevailed : nevertheless, in that state he would speak of justification, sanctification, and cleansing by the blood of Christ, though he himself was not come to that pure washing. In this state he perceived he was no true member of Christ, because that regeneration was still wanting. Thus he saw that a high profession would not avail, and that something more was required to obtain a happy state ; but as yet he knew not what it was that disquieted him ; though sometimes on the committing of any sin, he felt something that struck him with terror At length it pleased the Lord, that he hearing one of the Quakers so. called preach, That that which convinceth man of sin,

was the light of Christ, which enlightens every man that cometh into the world, this doctrine entered so deep into him, that he embraced it as wholesome, and walking with great circumspection before the Lord, he found that by giving diligent heed to that which inwardly reproved and condemned him for evil, he came to be delivered therefrom, and to witness sanctification, and thus advancing in godliness, he himself became a zealous preacher of that doctrine which had struck him so to the heart. He was indeed a zealous man, and though some were ready to think him too zealous yet he was discrete and I know that he was condescending in indifferent matters, thinking that there were customs, which though not followed in one country, were yet tolerable in another. He was generous, and lest he might seem to be burdensome to any, he rather chose to work with his hands.

Now I return again to the occurrences of G. Fox, whom we left in London, where having spent some time, he went about the beginning of the year 1663, to Norwich, and from thence into Cambridgeshire, where he heard of E. Burrough's decease; and being sensible how great a grief this loss would be to his friends, wrote the following lines to them.

"Friends

"Be still and quiet in your own conditions, and settled in the seed of God, that doth not change ; that in that ye may feel dear E. B. among you in the seed, in which, and by which he begot you to God, with whom he is ; and that in the seed ye may see and feel him, in which is the unity with him in the life ; that doth not change, which is invisible.

"G. F."

G. Fox afterwards travelling through several places, came again to London, where having visited his friends in their meetings, which were numerous, he travelled with Thomas Briggs into Kent, and coming to Tenterden, they had a meeting there, where many came, and were convinced of the truth that was declared. But when he intended to depart with his companion, he saw a captain, and a company of soldiers, with muskets and with lighted matches ; and some of these coming to them, said, "They must come to their captain." And when they were brought before him, he asked, "Where was G. Fox? Which was he? To which G, Fox answered, "I am the man." The captain being somewhat surprised, said, "I will secure you among the soldiers : yet he carried himself civilly, and said some time after, "You must go along with me to the town." Where being

come, he brought G. Fox and T. Briggs, with some more of their friends to an inn, which was the gaoler's house. And after a while the mayor of the town, with the said captain, and the lieutenant, who were justices, came and examined G. Fox, asking, Why he came thither to make a disturbance? G. Fox told them, He did not come there to make a disturbance, neither had he made any. They then said, "There was a law against the Quakers' meetings, made only against them." G. Fox told them, "He knew no such law." Then they produced the act that was made against Quakers and others. G. Fox seeing it, told them, "That law was against such as were a terror to the king's subjects, and were enemies, and held principles dangerous to the government; and therefore it was not against his friends, for they held truth, and their principles were not dangerous to the government, and their meetings were peaceable, as was well known." Now it was not without reason that George said, he knew no such law; since they had said, there was a law made only against the Quakers meetings; whereas the act had the appearance of being made against plotters, and enemies to the king: which certainly the Quakers were not. Yet it was said to G. Fox, he was an enemy to the king; but this he denied, and told them how he had once been cast into Derby dungeon, about the time of Wor-

cester fight, because he would not take up arms against the king; and how afterwards he had been sent up to London by colonel Hacker, as a plotter to bring in king Charles, and that he was kept prisoner in London till he was set at liberty by Oliver Cromwell. They asked him then, whether he had been imprisoned in the time of the insurrection; and he said, "Yes, but that he was released by the king's own command." At length they demanded bond for his appearance at the sessions, and would have had him to promise to come thither no more. But he refused the one as well as the other. Yet they behaved themselves moderately, and told him, and Thomas Briggs and the others, Ye shall see we are civil to you; for it is the mayor's pleasure you should all be set at liberty. To which G. Fox returned, their civility was noble; and so they parted; and he passed on to many places; where he had singular occurrences; and though wiles were laid for him, yet sometimes he escaped the hands of his persecuting enemies.

Coming into Cornwall he found there one Joseph Hellen, and George Bewly, who though they professed truth, yet had suffered themselves to be seduced by Blanch Pope, a ranting woman, who had ensnared them chiefly by asking, Who made the devil, did not God? This silly question, which Hellen and Bewly were at a loss to

answer, they propounded to G. Fox, and he answered it with, No : for, said he, all that God made was good, and was blessed, but so was not the devil : he was called a serpent before he was called a devil and an adversary ; and afterwards he was called a dragon, because he was a destroyer. The devil abode not in the truth, and by departing from the truth he became a devil. Now there is no promise of God to the devil, that ever he shall return into the truth again ; but to man and woman, who have been deceived by him, the promise of God is, that the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head, and break his power and strength to pieces. With this answer, G. Fox gave satisfaction to his friends ; but Hellen was so poisoned, and run out, that they denied him ; but Bewly was recovered from his fault by sincere repentance.

G. Fox having performed his service there, went to Helstone near Falmouth, where he had a large meeting, at which many were convinced ; for he opened to the auditory, the state of the church in the primitive times, and the state of the church in the wilderness, as also the state of the false church that was got up since : next he shewed that the everlasting gospel was now preaching again, over the head of the whore, beast, antichrist, and the false prophets, which were got up since the apostles days ; and the

now the everlasting gospel was received and receiving, which brought life and immortality to light. And this sermon was of such effect, that the people generally confessed, it was the everlasting truth that had been declared there that day.

G. Fox passing on, came at length to the Land's end, where there was an assembly of his friends, and also a fisherman, called Nicholas Jose, who preached among them, having three years before been convinced there by the ministry of G. Fox.

Whilst in these parts, there happened a very dismal and dreadful case.

"One colonel Robinson was, since the king came in, made justice of the peace; and became a cruel persecutor of those called Quakers, of whom he sent many to prison; and hearing that some liberty was allowed them, by the favour of the jailor, to come home sometimes to visit their wives and children, he made complaint thereof to the judges at the assizes, against the jailor, who thereupon was fined an hundred marks by judge Keeling. Not long after the assizes, Robinson sent to a neighbouring justice, desiring he would go with him a fanatick hunting, (meaning the disturbing of Quakers' meetings.) On the day that he intended thus to go a hunting, he sent his man about with his horses, and walked himself to a tenement that he had, where

his cows and dairy were kept, and where his servants were then milking. Being come there, he asked for his bull, and the maids said, they had shut him into the field, because he was unruly amongst the kine. He then going into the field, and having formerly accustomed himself to play with the bull, began to fence at him with his staff, as he used to do; but the bull, snuffing, went a little back, and then ran fiercely at him, and struck his horn into his thigh, and lifting him upon his horn, threw him over his back, and tore up his thigh to his belly; and when he came to the ground, he broke his leg, and the bull then gored him again with his horns, and roared, and licked up his blood. One of the maid servants hearing her master cry out, came running into the field, and took the bull by the horns to pull him off; but he, without hurting her, gently put her by with his horns, and still fell to goring him, and licking up his blood. Then she ran and got some workmen that were not far off, to come and rescue her master; but they could not at all beat off the bull, till they brought mastiff dogs to set on him; and then the bull fled. His sister having notice of this disaster, came and said, "Alack, brother, what a heavy judgment is this!" And he answered, "Ah sister it is a heavy judgment indeed; pray let the bull be killed, and the flesh be given to the poor." So he was taken up

and carried home, but so grievously wounded, that he died soon after; and the bull was become so fierce, that they were forced to kill him by shooting. This was the issue of Robinson's mischievous intent to go a fanatick hunting." I remember in my youth I heard with astonishment the relation of this accident from William Caton, who by a letter from England had received intelligence of it; for the thing was so remarkable, that the tidings of it were soon spread afar off.

Now I return to G. Fox, who from Cornwall travelled to Bristol and then into Wales, from whence passing through Warwickshire and Derbyshire, he came to York. Here he heard of a plot, which made him write a paper to his friends, wherein he admonished them to be cautious, and not at all to meddle with such bustlings. And travelling towards Lancashire, he came to Swarthmore, where they told him, that colonel Kirby had sent his lieutenant thither to search for him, and that he had searched trunks and chests. G. Fox having heard this, the next day went to Kirby hall, where the said colonel lived; and being come to him, he told him, I am come to visit thee, understanding that thou wouldst have seen me, and now I would fain know what thou hast to say to me, and whether thou hast any thing against me. The colonel who did not expect such a visit, and

being then to go up to London to the parliament, said before all the company, as I am a gentleman I have nothing against you : But Mrs. Fell must not keep great meetings at her house ; for they meet contrary to the act. G. Fox told him, that act does not take hold of us, but on such as meet to plot and contrive, and to raise insurrections against the king ; and we are none of those, but are a peaceable people. After some words more, the colonel took G. Fox by the hand, and said, "He had nothing against him ;" and others said, "He was a deserving man."

Then G. Fox parted, and returned to Swarthmore, and shortly after he heard there had been a private meeting of the justices and deputy lieutenants at Houlker hall, where justice Preston lived, and that there they had issued a warrant to apprehend him. Now he could have gone away, and got out of their reach ; but considering that, there being a noise of a plot in the north, if he should go away they might fall upon his friends ; but if he stayed, and was taken, his friends might escape the better ; he therefore gave up himself to be taken. Next day an officer came with his sword and pistols to take him. G. Fox told him, "I knew thy errand before, and have given up myself to be taken ; for if I would have escaped imprison-

ment, I could have gone forty miles off; but I am an innocent man, and so matter not what ye can do to me." Then the officer asked him, How he heard of it, seeing the order was made privately in a parlour. G. Fox said, It was no matter for that; it was sufficient that he heard of it. Then he asked him to shew his order. But he laying his hand on his sword, said, "You must go with me before the lieutenants, to answer such questions as they shall propound to you." Now though G. Fox insisted to see the order, telling him it was but civil and reasonable to shew it, yet the officer would not; and then G. Fox said, "I am ready." So he went along with him, and Margaret Fell also, to Houlker hall. Being come thither, there was one justice Rawlinson, Sir George Middleton, justice Preston, and several more whom he knew not. Then they brought one Thomas Atkinson, one of his friends, as a witness against him, for some words which he had told to one Knipe, who had informed against him; and these words were, That he had written against the plotters, and had knocked them down: but from these words little could be made. Then Preston asked him, Whether he had a hand in the battledoor? (Being a folio book already mentioned) Yes, said G. Fox. He then asked him, Whether he understood languages? He answered sufficient for myself.

Preston having spoken something more on that subject, said, "Come, we will examine you of higher matters:" then said George Middleton, "You deny God, and the church, and the faith." Nay, replied G Fox, "I own God, and the true church, and the true faith:" But, asked he, (having understood Middleton to be a Papist) "what church dost thou own?" The other, instead of answering this question, said, "You are a rebel and a traitor." G. Fox perceiving this Middleton to be an envious man, asked him, Whom he spoke to? Or, whom he called a rebel? The other having been silent a while, said at last, "I spoke to you." G. Fox then striking his hand on the table, told him, "I have suffered more than twenty such as thou, or any that are here; for I have been cast into Derby dungeon for six months together, and have suffered much because I would not take up arms against this king, before Worcester fight; and I have been sent up prisoner out of my own country by colonel Hacker to O. Cromwell, as a plotter to bring in king Charles. Ye talk of the king, a company of you; but where were ye in Oliver's days; and what did ye do then for the king? But I have more love to him, for his eternal good and welfare, than any of you have." Then they asked him, Whether he had heard of the plot? And he said, "Yes." Hereupon he was asked, How he had heard of

it, and whom he knew in it? And he answered, He had heard of it through the high sheriff of Yorkshire, who had told Dr. Hodgson, that there was a plot in the north; but that he never heard any thing of it in the south; and that he knew none of them that were in it. Then they asked him, "Why would you write against it, if you did not know some that were in it." "My reason was," answered he, "because ye are so forward to mash the innocent and guilty together; therefore I wrote against it to clear the truth from such things, and to stop all forward foolish spirits from running into such things: and I sent copies of it into Westmoreland, Cumberland, Bishoprick, and Yorkshire, and to you here; and I sent also a copy of it to the king and his council; and it is like it may be in print by this time." Then said one of them, "O, this man hath great power." "Yes," said he, "I have power to write against plotters." "But," said one of them, "you are against the laws of the land." "Nay," said he, "For I and my friends direct all the people to the Spirit of God in them, to mortify the deeds of the flesh: this brings them into well doing, and from that which the magistrates sword is against: which eases the magistrates, who are for the punishment of evil doers," &c.

Middleton now weary, as it seemed, of his speaking, cried, Bring the book, and put the

oath of allegiance and supremacy to him. But G. Fox knowing him to be a Papist, asked him, Whether he, who was a swearer, had taken the oath of supremacy? For this oath tending to reject the pope's power in England, was a kind of test to try people whether they were Papists, or no: "But as for us," said G. Fox, "we cannot swear at all, because Christ and his apostles have forbidden it." Now some of these that sat there, seeing Middleton was thus pinched, would not have had the oath put to G. Fox; but others would, because this was their last snare, and they had no other way to get him into prison; for all other things had been cleared: but this was like the Papists sacrament of the altar, by which they formerly insnared the martyrs: and in the Low Countries they asked the Baptists, Whether they were re-baptized? And if this appeared, then they said, "We do not kill you, but the emperor's decree condemns you." So they tendered G. Fox the oath, and he refusing to take it, they consulted together about sending him to jail; but all not agreeing, he was only engaged to appear at the sessions; and so for that time they dismissed him.

Then he went back with Margaret Fell to Swarthmore, where colonel West, who was at that time a justice of the peace, came to see him. And G. Fox asking him, what he thought

they would do with him at the sessions, he said, They would tender the oath to him again. The time of the sessions now approaching, G. Fox went to Lancaster, and appeared according to his engagement, where he found upon the bench, justice Flemming, who in Westmoreland had offered five pounds to any man that would apprehend G. Fox. There were also the justices Spencer and Rawlinson, and colonel West; and a great concourse of people in the court, and when G. Fox came up to the bar, and stood with his hat on, they looked earnestly upon him. Then proclamation being made for all to keep silence on pain of imprisonment, he said twice, "Peace be among you." Then Rawlinson, who was a chairman, spoke, and asked, If he knew where he was? To which he answered, "Yes, I do; but it may be my hat offends you; but that's a low thing, that's not the honour I give to magistrates: for the true honour is from above; and I hope it is not the hat which ye look upon to be the honour." To which the chairman said, "We look for the hat too. Wherein do you shew your respect to magistrates, if you do not put off your hat?" G. Fox replied, "In coming when they call me." They then bid one take off his hat. After some pause, the chairman asked him, Whether he knew of the plot? To which he returned, that he had heard of it in Yorkshire, by a friend

that had it of the high-sheriff. The next question was, whether he had declared it to the magistrates? And his answer was, "I have sent papers abroad against plots and plotters, and also to you, as soon as I came into the country, to take all jealousies out of your minds concerning me and my friends: for it was, and is our principle to declare against such things." Then they asked him, if he knew not of an act against meetings? To which he made answer, that he knew there was an act that took hold of such as met to the terrifying of the king's subjects, and were enemies to the king, and held dangerous principles. "But I hope," said he, "ye do not look upon us to be such men; for our meetings are not to terrify the king's subjects, neither are we enemies to him, or any man."

That which followed hereupon, was the tendering of the oath of allegiance and supremacy to him. To which he told them, that he had never taken any oath in his life; and that he could not take any oath at all, because Christ and his apostles had forbidden it. Then Rawlinson, who was a lawyer, asked him, whether he held it was unlawful to swear? G. Fox presently perceived this question to be put on purpose to ensnare him; for by a certain act 13 and 14. Car. 2. cap. 1. such who said, It was unlawful to swear, were liable to banishment,

or to a great fine. Therefore to avoid this snare, he told them, that in the time of the law amongst the Jews, before Christ came, the law commanded them to swear ; but Christ who did fulfil the law in the gospel time, commands, not to swear at all ; and the apostle James forbids swearing, even to them that were Jews, and had the law of God. Now after much other discourse, the jailor was called, and G. Fox committed to prison. He then having the paper about him which he had written against plots, desired it might be read in the court ; but this they would not suffer. Being thus committed for refusing to swear, he said to those on the bench, and all the people, "Take notice that I suffer for the doctrine of Christ, and for my obedience to his command." Afterwards he understood, the justices said, that they had private instructions from colonel Kirby to prosecute him, notwithstanding his fair carriage, and seeming kindness to him before.

Leaving G. Fox in prison, I am to say that the act already mentioned, whereby a penalty was laid on all such who should say, It was unlawful to take an oath, was that which extended to banishment, being made not long before, and expressly levelled against the Quakers, as plainly appeared by the title. This is that act, by direction whereof the Quakers, so called, were afterwards banished, as may be related in due

time and place ; and though the king himself was pretty good natured, yet he suffered himself to be so swayed by the instigations of some envious men, as well among the ecclesiastics, as among the laity, that he gave the royal assent thereto.

Whilst G. Fox was prisoner at Lancaster, many of his friends were also imprisoned, for frequenting religious meetings, refusing to take oaths, and for not paying tithes to the priests : but since he was not brought to his trial till next year, we will leave him still in jail, and in the meanwhile take a turn to Colchester, where persecution now was exceeding fierce.

In the month of October, William More, mayor of that town, came on a first day of the week, and broke up the meeting of the Quakers so called, and committed some of them to prison : the next week after he caused a party of the county troop to come to the meeting. These beat some, and did much mischief to the forms, seats, and windows of the meeting place. And afterwards the mayor employed an old man to stop people from going in at the gate to the meeting room ; who told those that would have entered, that the mayor had set him there to keep them out. Now though they knew he was no officer, nor had any warrant, yet they made no resistance, but continuing in the street, thus kept their meeting in a peaceable manner,

being not free for conscience-sake to leave off their public worship of God, though in that time of the year it was cold, and often wet weather; and thus it continued many weeks, though attended with so much difficulty.

In the fore part of December there came about forty of the king's troopers, on horseback, in their armour, with swords, carbines, and pistols, crying, "what a devil do ye here?" And falling violently upon this harmless company, they beat them, some with swords, and others with carbines, without distinction of male or female, old or young, until many were much bruised, chasing them to and fro in the streets.

The next first day of the week these furious fellows came again, having now got clubs, wherewith, as well as with swords and carbines, they most grievously beat those that were peaceably met together in the street to worship God. This cruel beating was so excessive, that some got above an hundred blows, and were beaten so black and blue, that their limbs lost their natural strength: one there was whom a trooper beat so long, till the blade of his sword fell out of the hilt, which he that was beaten seeing, said to the other, "I will give it thee up again," which he did, with these words, "I desire the Lord may not lay this day's work to thy charge."

But to avoid prolixity, I shall not mention all the particular abuses which I find to have been

committed there. These cruel doings continued yet several weeks, and some were beaten so violently, that their blood was shed in the streets, and they sunk down, and fainted away. One Edward Graunt, a man of about threescore and ten years of age, (whose wife and daughters I was well acquainted with) was so terribly knocked down, that he outlived it but a few days. So hot was this time now, that these religious worshippers, when they went to their meeting, seemed to go to meet death ; for they could not promise to themselves to return home either whole or alive. But notwithstanding all this, their zeal for their worship was so lively, that they durst not stay at home, though human reasoning might have advised them thereto. And some of them had been people of note in the world, among others one Giles Barnadiston, who having spent six years in the university in the study of human literature, afterwards came to be a colonel ; but in process of time, having heard G. Fox the younger, preach, he was so entirely convinced of the truth by him declared that laying down his military command, he entered into the society of those called Quakers, and continuing faithful, he in time became a minister of the gospel among the said people ; being a man of a meek spirit, and one whom I knew very well. This Barnadiston did not forbear frequenting meetings, how hot soever

the persecution was, being fully given up to hazard his life with his friends.

One Solomon Fromantle, a merchant, with whom I was well acquainted, was so grievously beaten, that he fell down, and lost much of his blood in the street; and yet the barbarous troopers did not leave off beating him: his wife, a daughter of the aforesaid Edward Graunt, fearing lest he should be killed, fell down upon him, to cover and protect him from the blows with the hazard of her own body, as she herself told me in the presence of her said husband; an instance of conjugal love and fidelity well worthy to be mentioned, and left upon record. And though she then did not receive very fierce blows, yet there were some women whose lot it was to be sorely beaten with clubs, whereinto iron spikes were driven, as among the rest an aged widow, who received no less than twelve such bloody blows on several parts of her body; and another woman was pierced in her loins with such a spiked club. An ancient man of sixty-five years was followed a great way by three on foot and one on horseback, and so beaten and bruised, that a woman, pitying this old man, spoke to these mischievous fellows to leave off; but this so incensed him that was on horseback, that he gave her a hard blow with his sword on the shoulder, with cursing and railing. This barbarity continued, till the per-

secutors seemed to be more wearied out than the persecuted, who seemed to grow valiant in these sore tribulations, how grievous soever. A great promoter of this furious violence was captain Turner, who drove on his troopers to act thus; nay, such was his malice, that once at the breaking up of a meeting, he not only gave orders to beat the people, but also to spoil doors, windows and walls, so that the damage came to five and twenty pounds.

Now I could enter upon a large relation of the trial of many prisoners at Worcester, before the judges Hide and Terril; but since that trial was much after the same manner as that of John Crook, here before mentioned at large, I will but cursorily make some mention of it. When the prisoners, being brought to the bar, asked, Why they had been kept so long in prison? They were answered with the question whether they would take the oath of allegiance? And endeavours were used to draw some to betray themselves, by asking them, where they had been on such a day? For if they had said, at meeting, then it would have appeared from their own mouth that they had acted contrary to the law; but they answered warily, that they were not bound to accuse themselves. Others by evidence were charged with having been at a meeting; and when they said, that their meetings were not always for public worship, but

that they had also meetings to take care of widows, fatherless, and others that were indigent; yet it was said to the jury, that though there was no evidence, that there had been any preaching in the meeting, yet if they did but believe that the prisoners had kept a meeting for religious worship, it was sufficient for them to approve the indictment. And yet such proceedings in other cases would have been thought unwarrantable.

One Edward Bourn being imprisoned for having being at a meeting, and afterwards brought to his trial, the oath was tendered to him. Among other words he spoke in defence of himself, he said, "Suppose Christ and his apostles kept a meeting here in this time, would this act against conventicles also take hold of them?" "Yes," said the judge, "it would." But bethinking himself, he said, "I wont answer your questions. Ye are no apostles." The conclusion was, that Bourn and several of his friends were fined each of them five pounds.

Now since those that were fined thus, did not use to pay the fines, judging that the thing which they were fined for was an indispensable duty they owed to God, and therefore they could not pay any such fine with a good conscience, the consequence therefore generally was imprisonment, and distraining of their goods, whereby some lost twice, and it may be, thrice

as much as the fine amounted to. Some of the prisoners made it appear, that they had been somewhere else, and not in the meeting, at the house of one Robert Smith, at such time as the evidence declared by oath; yet because they gave no satisfactory answer to the question, whether they had been there on that day, they were deemed guilty. The said Robert Smith was premunired: for the oath of allegiance being tendered to him, and he menaced by the judge with a premunire, asked, for whom that law [for taking the said oath] was made; whether not for Papists? And on suspicion that some of that persuasion sat on the bench, he asked also, whether they, for the satisfaction of the people, there present, ought not also to take the oath. But the judge waved this, telling him, he must take the oath, or else sentence should be pronounced against him. Smith asked then, Whether the example of Christ should decide the question? But the judge said, "I am not come here to dispute with you concerning the doctrine of Christ, but to inform you concerning the doctrine of the law." Then Smith was led away, and afterwards when an indictment for his refusing the oath was drawn up, he was brought into the court again, and asked, Whether he would answer to the indictment, or no; and the reasons he gave not being accepted, the judge said, before Smith had done

speaking, "This is your sentence, and the judgment of the court. You shall be shut out of the king's protection, and forfeit your personal estate to the king for ever, and your real estate during life." To this Robert said with a composed mind, "The Lord hath given, and if he suffers it to be taken away, his will be done." Thus Robert Smith suffered, with many more of his friends, there and elsewhere: all which I believe my life time would not be sufficient to describe circumstantially.

Passing then by the other persecutions of this year, I will relate one remarkable case that happened in this year 1663, where patience triumphed very eminently over violence. But before I enter upon this narrative, it will not be amiss to go back a little, and mention some singular particulars of the chief actor of the fact I am going to describe.

His name was Thomas Lurting, who formerly had been boatswain's mate in a man of war, and had often been preserved in imminent dangers; as once being at the Canary isles, under admiral Blake, commander in this expedition, they ruined the admiral and vice admiral of the Spanish galleons, and this being done, he with seven men was sent with a pinnace to set three galleons in the bay on fire; which order he executed, by setting one of them on fire, which burnt the other two. But returning, and pass-

ing by a breastwork, they received a volley of small shot, by which two men, close to one of whom Thomas sat, were killed, and a third was shot in his back, but Thomas received no harm. And going out of the bay, they came within about four ships length of the castle, which had forty guns ; and when they came directly over against the castle, the guns were fired, and a shot cut the bolt rope a little above Thomas's head, without hurting him. In more dangers he was eminently preserved, but that I may not be too prolix, I will now relate, how from a fighting sailor he became a harmless Christian.

About the year 1654, it happened that among the soldiers who were in the ship he was in, there was one who had been at a meeting of those called Quakers in Scotland, and there were two young men in the ship who had some converse with him ; but he was soon taken away from the ship. Yet these two young men seemed to be under some conviction ; for about six months after, they scrupled to go and hear the priest, and to put off their hats to the captain ; by which they came to be called Quakers. These two met often together in silence, which being seen by others in the ship, their number increased ; but this troubled the captain exceedingly, and the priest grew not a little angry, and said to our boatswain, O Thomas an honest man, and a good Christian ; here is

a dangerous people on board, viz. the Quakers, a blasphemous people, denying the ordinances and word of God. This made Thomas so furious, that in a bigoted zeal he fell to beating and abusing these men, when religiously met together. But this was not the way to have a quiet and sedate mind ; for the remembrance of his former deliverances stuck so close to him, that he could no more beat any of the said people ; and then he came to a farther sight, inso-much that he clearly saw what a fellow the priest was : for when Thomas could no longer abuse the said people, then he was not accounted by him either an honest man, or a good Christian. Now being under condemnation because of his outgoings, he made many promises to the Lord ; but these being made in his own will, were of little effect. Yet by the grace of God it was shewn him, that since he did not perform these promises, he could not be benefited thereby, which caused him much trouble.

Among those in the ship called Quakers, was one Roger Dennis, whom he entirely loved, and therefore he never struck him ; for this man was a check on Thomas to that degree, that looking only upon him, he durst not touch any of those whom he intended to have abused. In this state, feeling no peace in his mind, after some time he much desired to be alone, the more freely to pour out his heart before the

Lord; and though he then felt himself inwardly condemned, yet judgments became pleasant to him, because thereby his heart was tendered and broken; in which state he could not forbear sometimes to cry out, O Lord! But this being observed by the ship's crew, made some say, he was mad, and others he was distracted; and of this some wrote home to England. Now it fell to his share to be mocked and ridiculed; but he endeavoured to be fully given up, if he might but have peace in his conscience with God.

And being one evening alone, he was very earnest with the Lord, to know what people he should join himself to; and then it was plainly shewed him, the Quakers. But this so startled him at that time, that he desired of the Lord, rather to die, than to live: for to join with a people whom he had been so often beating and abusing, seemed to be harder to him than death itself; and by the subtilty of Satan he was often assaulted by various thoughts, to keep him off from the said people. But when the Lord made him mindful of his manifold preservations and deliverances, it mollified his heart, so that at length he came to this resolution, whether Quaker, or no Quaker, I am for peace with God. Yet it cost him many a bitter sigh, and many a sorrowful tear, before he could come to a full resignation. But the inward reproofs of the

Lord, attended with judgments, followed him so close, that he could no longer forbear, but gave up. And then he took an opportunity to discover his heart to his friend Roger Dennis, who spoke so to the purpose, that he had great satisfaction. But not long after temptations assaulted him again in this manner, What, to join thyself to such a foolish people? And the very thoughts of this were so grievous to him, that he grew even weary of his life; for thus to expose himself to scorn, seemed to him an intolerable cross. But this struggling was not the way to get peace with God. The first day of the week being come, he resolved to go to the small meeting, who were now six in number; but it being reported that he was amongst the Quakers, many of the company left their worship to see him; and they made a great noise. When the worship was over, the captain asked the reason of that noise; and it was told him, that Thomas was amongst the Quakers; on which he sent for him, there being several officers also present; but the first that spoke was the priest, saying, "Thomas, I took you for a very honest man, and a good Christian, but am sorry you should be so deluded." And the captain endeavoured to prove from Scripture, that the Quakers were no Christians. Thomas in the meanwhile was still and quiet; and the others seeing they could not prevail upon him

that way, took another course; and said, that the Quakers sometimes came to him, saying, Do such and such a thing. But because he knew this to be altogether false, and saw how they would bear him down with lies, he was the more strengthened; so that going to his friends, he said to them, "When I went to the captain, I was scarcely half a Quaker: but by their lies and false reports they have made me almost a whole Quaker; or at least I hope to be one."

He continuing to meet with his friends for performing worship, some more came to be joined to them, so that in less than six months after, they were twelve men, and two boys, one of which was the priest's. Now there was none aboard that would abuse the Quakers, though much tried by the captain; for he got some men out of other ships on purpose to vex them: but how fiercely these behaved themselves, a higher power limited them. At length there was a sickness in the ship, which swept away above forty in a short time; and most of them called Quakers, had the distemper also, but none died of it, though some were brought very low; but they took great care of one another when sick, and whatever one had was free for all; which care being seen by others, made some of them cry upon their death bed, O carry me to the Quakers, for they take great care one of ano-

ther, and they will take some care of me also. This visitation, in the ship, changed the captain so much, that he was very kind to Thomas, and often sent him part of what he had. Thomas seeing him in good humour, desired of him to have the cabin he lay in before his change, which request was granted; for none were willing to lie therein, because they told one another it was troubled with an evil spirit, since three or four had died therein within a short space of time. This cabin he made use of also for a meeting place; and the captain was now so well pleased with him, that when something was to be done, he would often say, Thomas, take thy friends, and do such or such a thing; for as yet they were not against fighting, and therefore no complete Quakers. And thus when Thomas and his friends were sent out on some expedition, they did their work beyond expectation. But though they were not brought off from fighting, yet when with others they annoyed their enemies, they would take none of the plunder; and in all desperate attempts they received no hurt, though several others were killed and wounded; and they behaved themselves so valiantly, that their captain would say to other captains, that he cared not if all his men were Quakers, for they were the hardiest men in his ship. But though this was a time oferty, yet Thomas looked upon it as a fore.

runner of farther exercise; for he saw what was done in pretended friendship, was but to serve their own ends; and therefore he expected a time of trial would come, and so it did.

For being come to Leghorn, they were ordered to go to Barcelona, to take or burn a Spanish man of war. Their station was to lie against a castle, and batter it; which they did; and one corner of the castle playing some shot into their ship Thomas was for beating down that part: and those called Quakers, fought with as much courage as any. He himself being stripped to his waistcoat, and going into the fore-castle, he levelled the guns, but said, "Fire not, till I go out and see where the shot lights, that we may level higher or lower;" he being yet as great a fighter as any: but as he was coming out of the fore-castle door, to see where the shot fell, suddenly it run through him, "What if now thou killest a man?" This struck him as a thunderbolt, and he that can turn all men's hearts at his pleasure, changed his in a minute's time to that degree, that whereas, just before, he bent all his strength to kill men, he now found in himself no will thereto, though it were to gain the world; for he presently perceived it was from the Lord; and then putting on his clothes, he walked on the deck, as if he had not seen a gun fired: and being under great exercise of mind, some asked him, If he was

hurt. He answered, "No; but under some scruple of conscience on the account of fighting," though then he knew not that the Quakers refused to fight.

When night came, they went out of the reach of the castle shot, and he took occasion to speak with two of his friends in the ship, and inquired their judgment concerning fighting; but they gave little answer to it, but said however, "If the Lord sent them well home, they would never go to it again." To which he returned, That if he stood honest to that of God in his own conscience, and they came to it to morrow, with the Lord's assistance he would bear his testimony against it; for he clearly saw, that forasmuch as they had been such great actors in fighting, they now must bear their testimony against it, and wait what would be the issue; saying with themselves, The will of the Lord be done. The next day they heard that several were killed on shore, which grieved Thomas not a little. Some time after, one of Thomas's friends went to the captain to be cleared; and he asking why? His answer was, "That he could fight no longer." To which the captain said, "He that denies to fight in time of engagement, I will put my sword in his guts." "Then," said the other, "Thou wilt be a manslayer, and guilty of shedding blood:" for which the captain (who was a Baptist preacher) beat him

sorely with his fist and cane; and he that had been their friend, was now become their open enemy.

Some time after (about the year 1655) being at Leghorn, they were ordered to go a cruising; and one morning spied a great ship bearing down upon them, which they supposed to be a Spanish man of war. Presently orders were given to clear the ship for fight. Thomas then being upon the deck, saw plainly that a time of trial was now come, and he prayed to the Lord very earnestly for strength: and that which seemed most expedient to him, was to meet with his friends; which, after notice given, was done accordingly. Being all met, he told them how it was with him, and that things seemed very dark and cloudy, yet his hopes were, that the Lord would deliver him, and all such as were of his faith; to which he added, I lay not this as an injunction upon any one, but leave you all to the Lord: moreover he said, I must tell you, that the captain puts great confidence in you; therefore let us be careful that we give no just occasion; and all that are of my mind, let us meet in the most public place upon the deck, in the full view of the captain, that he may not say we deceived him, in not telling him that we would not fight, so that he might have put others in our room.

Then Thomas went upon the deck, and set

his back against the geer capstan, and a little after turning his head, he saw his friends behind him; at which though he rejoiced, yet his bowels rowled within him for them, who stood there as sheep ready for the slaughter. Within a little time came the lieutenant, and said to one of them, "Go down to thy quarters:" to which he returned, "I can fight no more." The lieutenant then going to the captain, made the worst of it saying, "Yonder the Quakers are altogether; and I do not know but they will mutiny; and one says he cannot fight." The captain having asked his name, came down to him, flung his hat overboard, and taking hold of his collar, beat him with a great cane, and dragged him down to his quarters. Then he went upon the half deck again, and called for his sword, which his man having brought him, he drew with great fury. No sooner was this done, but the word of the Lord (as Thomas took it) run through him, saying, "The sword of the Lord is over him; and if he will have a sacrifice, proffer it him." And this word was so powerful in him, that he quivered and shook, though he endeavoured to stop it, fearing they should think he was afraid; which he was not; for turning his head over his shoulder, he said to his friend Roger, "I must go to the captain." To which he returned, "Be well satisfied in what thou doest." And Thomas replied, There

was a necessity upon him. Then seeing the captain coming on with his drawn sword, he fixed his eye with great seriousness upon him, and stepped towards him, keeping his eye upon him, (in much dread of the Lord) being carried above his furious looks. At which the captain's countenance changed pale, and he turning himself about, called to his man to take away his sword, and so he went off. Not long after, the ship they expected to fight withal, proved to be a Genoese, their friend; and before night, the captain sent the priest to Thomas, to excuse his anger, it having been in his passion. To which Thomas's answer was, that he had nothing but good will to him; and he bade the priest tell the captain, That he must have a care of such passions; for if he killed a man in his passion, he might seek for repentance, and perhaps not find it. Thus Thomas overcame this storm, and at length got safe home.

Now leaving men of war, he afterwards went to sea in a merchantman, or trading ship; but then it fell to his lot to be prest several times into the king's service, and being carried into a man of war, he suffered very much. Once he fasted five days, taking only at times a draught of water; for he could easily guess that if he had eaten of their victuals, it would have gone the harder with him, since he scrupled to do any ship work, though it did not belong to fighting.

for he judged all this to be assistance to those whose business it was to fight; and that therefore in such a ship he could do nothing, whatever it was, by helping and assisting.

In this condition he met with several rude occurrences, for some years together. Being once at Harwich, hard at work in a ship, heaving out corn in a lighter, he was prest; but one of the men saying, that he was a Quaker, the captain, who with his boat was come aboard, said in a scoffing manner to him, "Thou art no Quaker; for if thou wast a Quaker, thou shouldst be waiting upon the Lord, and let his ravens feed thee, and not be toiling thy body." For Thomas being stripped to his shirt and drawers, his shirt was wet with perspiration; and being a little time silent, said at length to the captain: "I perceive thou hast read some part of the Scriptures: didst thou never read, that he is worse than an infidel that will not provide for his family? I have often heard the Quakers blamed for not working, but thou art the first that ever I heard blame them for working." At this the captain said, "Turn him away, he is a Quaker." But a little after he cried, "Pull him again, he is no Quaker;" "Thou art no Quaker; for here thou bringest corn, and of it is made bread, and by the strength of that bread, we kill the Dutch; and therefore no Quakers. Or art not thou as accessory to their death as

we?" Answer me. Thomas not presently answering, was much scoffed and jeered at by the seamen; but at length he said to the captain, "I am a man that can feed my enemies, and well may I you, who pretend to be my friends." To which the captain replied, "Turn him away he is a Quaker: and thus that storm ceased.

But a few days after he was pressed again out of the same vessel, and carried on board a man of war; there he was ordered to go into the cabin, where the captain and several officers were; and being entered, the captain began to curse the Quakers, and swore, That if he did not hang Thomas, he would carry him to the duke of York, and he would. But Thomas said very little, and felt himself kept by the Lord from fear. And when the captain had tired himself with scolding and railing, he said more mildly, "What, dost thou say nothing for thyself?" To which Thomas replied, "Thou sayest enough for thee and me too; and he found it most safe to say little: this was indeed the best way; for generally no reasons, how good soever, avail with passionate men, who often think it a disparagement to them, when they hearken to what is said by one they look upon to be their inferior: but such sometimes find they reckon amiss; as this captain did, who notwithstanding his haughtiness, was soon struck

by a superior power ; for the next night a sudden cry was heard, Where is the Quaker ? Where is the Quaker ? Thomas hearing this, said, " Here I am : what lack you at this time of the night ? " To which it was told him, You must come to the captain presently. He then coming to the cabin door, the captain said, " Is the Quaker there ? To which Thomas having replied " Yes," the captain said, " I cannot sleep, thou must go on shore." Thomas answered " I am in thy hand, and thou mayst do with me as thou plearest." So with the boat he was put on shore at Harwich, by order of the captain, who in his fury had said that hanging was too good for him. But now, because his mind was disquieted, he could not sleep, though Thomas, who lay on the hard boards, slept very well.

Having said thus much of this seaman, let us now take a view, and behold how, and in what an industrious manner, he, without passing the bounds of a peaceable disposition, retook a ship that was taken by a pirate ; which happened in the year 1663, after this manner.

The master of a ship, whose name was George Pattison, one of the society of those called Quakers, about the month of October, being with his ship in the Mediterranean, coming from Venice, near the island of Majorca, was chased by a pirate of Algiers, and their vessel sailing well, they endeavoured to escape ; but by carrying

overmuch sail, some of their materials gave way, by which means the Turks came up with them, and commanded the master on board, who accordingly with four men more, went in his boat, leaving only his mate (the beforementioned Thomas Lurting) with three men and a boy on board his vessel. As soon as those came on board the pirate, the Turks put thirteen or fourteen of their men into the boat, to go towards the English ship. In the meantime the mate was under great exercise of mind, the rather because the master, and four of his men, were among the Turks, and those that were left, were rather unruly. In this concern however, he believed it was told him inwardly, by the Lord, Be not afraid, for thou shalt not go to Algiers: for having had formerly great experience of the Lord's deliverances, as hath been said above, he had already learned to trust in God, almost against hope. On the consideration of this, all fear was removed from him: and going to the ship's side to see the Turks come in, he received them as if they were his friends, and they also behaved themselves civilly: then he shewed them all the parts of the vessel, and her lading. Afterwards he said to the men that were with him, Be not afraid, for all this we shall not go to Algiers; but let me desire you, as you have been willing to obey me, to be as willing now to obey the Turks. This they

promised him, and by so doing, he soon perceived they gained upon the Turks ; for they seeing the seamen's diligence, grew the more careless and favourable to them. And having taken some small matter of the lading, some went again to their own ship, and eight Turks staid with the English.

Then the mate began to think of the master, and the other four that were in the Turk's ship ; as for himself, and the others with him, he had no fear at all ; nay, he was so far from it, that he said to one of his men, " Were but the master on board and the rest of our men, if there were twice as many Turks I should not fear them." By this he encouraged the seamen, who not being of his persuasion, thought much otherwise than he, and would have been ready enough to kill the Turks, if they had seen opportunity. In the meantime the mate's earnest desire to the Lord was, that he would incline the Turks to send back the master and the other four. And his desire was answered : for soon after the master and those men were sent on board.

Then all manner of fear concerning going to Algiers was taken away from him, which made some say to him, He was a strange man, since he felt afraid before he was taken, but now he did not. For before they were taken, he having heard there were many Turks at sea, endeavoured to persuade the master to have gone to Leg-

horn, and there to stay for a convoy, and so long they would have no wages. But to this the master would not agree. Now the mate, to answer the seamen, who blamed his behaviour, said to them, "I now believe I shall not go to Algiers; and if ye will be ruled by me, I will act for your delivery, as well as my own." However though he spoke thus boldly, yet he saw no way for it; for the Turks were all armed, and the English without arms. Now these being all together, except the master, he said to them, "What if we should overcome the Turks and go to Majorca." At which they very much rejoiced, and one said, "I will kill one or two;" "and I," said another, "will cut as many of their throats as you will have me." But at these sayings the mate was much troubled, for he intended not to hurt any, and therefore told the men, "If I knew that any of you would touch a Turk at that rate, I would tell it the Turks myself. "But," said he, "If ye will be ruled, I will act for you; if not, I will be still." They seeing that he would not let them take their own course, agreed to do what he would have them: "Well," said he, "if the Turks bid you do any thing, do it without grumbling, and with as much diligence and quickness as you can, for that pleases them, and will cause them to let us be together." To this all the

men agreed; and then he went to the master, and told him their intention. But his answer was, "If we offer to rise, and they overcome us, we had as good be burnt alive." The mate knew very well the master was in the right viz., That if they failed in the attempt, then they were like to meet with the most cruel treatment from the Turks that could be thought of. Now the reason why the master, though a very bold spirited man, did not readily consent to the proposal, was, because he feared they would shed blood, but his mate told him, "They were resolved, and he questioned not but they should do it, without shedding one drop of blood, and besides he would rather go to Algiers, than to kill one Turk. Speaking thus he so swayed the master, that at last he agreed to let him do what he would, provided they killed none.

Now since two Turks lay in the cabin with the master, it was agreed that he should continue to lie there, lest they should mistrust any thing. In the meanwhile it began to be bad weather, so that they lost the company of the Turkish man of war, which was the thing the mate much desired; and the Turks seeing the diligence of the English sailors, grew careless concerning them, which was what the mate aimed at. The second night after, the captain of the Turks, and one of his company, being gone to sleep in the cabin with the master, the

mate persuaded one to lie in his cabin, and about an hour after another in another cabin; and at last it raining very much, he persuaded them all to lie down and sleep: and when they were all asleep, he coming to them, fairly got their arms into his possession. This being done, he told his men, Now we have the Turks at our command, no man shall hurt any of them; for if ye do, I will be against you: but this we will do, now they are under deck, we will keep them so, and go for Majorca. And having ordered some to keep the doors, they steered their course to Majorca, and they had such a strong gale, that in the morning they were near it. Then he ordered his men, if any offered to come out, not to let above one or two at a time: and when one came out, expecting to have seen his own country, he was not a little astonished instead thereof to see Majorca. Then the mate said to his men, "Be careful of the door, for when he goes in we shall see what they will do. But have a care not to spill blood." The Turk being gone down, and telling his comrades what he had seen, and how they were going to Majorca, they, instead of rising, all fell a crying, for their courage was quite sunk; and they begged that they might not be sold. This the mate promised, and said they should not. And when he had appeased them, he went into the cabin to the master, who

knew nothing of what was done, and gave him an account of the sudden change, and how they had overcome the Turks. Which when he understood, he told their captain, that the vessel was now no more in their possession, but in his again; and that they were going for Majorca. At this unexpected news the captain wept, and desired the master not to sell him; which he promised he would not. Then they told him also, they would make a place to hide them in, that the Spaniards coming aboard should not find them. And so they did accordingly, at which the Turks were very glad.

Being come into the port of Majorca, the master, with four men, went ashore, and left the mate on board with ten Turks. The master having done his business, returned on board, not taking license, lest the Spaniards should come and see the Turks: but another English master being an acquaintance, lying there also with his ship, came at night on board; and after some discourse, they told him what they had done, under promise of silence, lest the Spaniards should come and take away the Turks. But he broke his promise, and would have had two or three of the Turks, to have brought them to England. His design then being seen, his demand was denied: and seeing he could not prevail, he said to Pattison and his mate, That they were fools, because they would not

sell the Turks, which were each worth two or three hundred pieces of eight. But they told him, That if they would give many thousands, they should not have one, for they hoped to send them home again; and to sell them, the mate said, he would not have done for the whole island. The other master then coming ashore, told the Spaniards what he knew of this, who then threatened to take away the Turks. But Pattison and his mate having heard this, called out the Turks, and said to them, "Ye must help us, or the Spaniards will take you from us." To this the Turks, as one may easily guess, were very ready, and so they quickly got out to sea: and the English, to save the Turks, put themselves to the hazard of being overcome again; for they continued hovering several days, because they would not put into any port of Spain, for fear of losing the Turks, to whom they gave liberty for four or five days, until they made an attempt to rise; which the mate perceiving, he prevented, without hurting any of them, though he once laid hold of one: yet generally he was so kind to them, that some of his men grumbled, and said, "He had more care for the Turks than for them." To which his answer was, "They were strangers, and therefore he must treat them well." At length, after several occurrences, the mate told the master, that he thought it best to go to the

coasts of Barbary, because they were then like to miss their men of war. To this the master consented. However, to deceive the Turks, they sailed to and fro for several days; for in the day time they were for going to Algiers, but when night came they steered the contrary way, and went back again, by which means they kept the Turks in ignorance, so as to be quiet.

But on the ninth day being all upon deck, when none of the English were there but the master, his mate, and the man at the helm, they began to be so untoward and haughty, that it rose in the mate's mind, what if they should lay hold on the master, and cast him overboard: for they were ten lusty men, and he but a little man. This thought struck him with terror; but recollecting himself, and taking heart, he stamped with his foot, and the men coming up, one asked for the crow, and another for the axe, to fall on the Turks; but the mate bade them not to hurt the Turks, and said, "I will lay hold on their captain:" which he did, for having heard them threaten the master, he stepped forward, and laying hold of the captain, said, He must go down, which he did very quietly and all the rest followed him. Two days after being come on the coast of Barbary, they were, according to what the Turks said, about fifty miles from Algiers, and six from land; and in

the afternoon it fell calm. But how to set the Turks on shore was not yet resolved upon. The mate saw well enough, that he being the man who had begun this business, it would be his lot also to bring it to an end. He then acquainted the master that he was willing to carry the Turks on shore ; but how to do this safely, he as yet knew not certainly ; for to give them the boat was too dangerous, for then they might get men and arms, and so come and retake the ship with its own boat ; and to carry them on shore with two or three of the ship's men, was also a great hazard, because the Turks were ten in number : and to put one half on shore was no less dangerous ; for then they might raise the country, and so surprise the English when they came with the other half. In this great strait the mate said to the master, " If he would let him have the boat and three men to go with him, he would venture to put the Turks on shore." The master, relying perhaps on his mate's conduct, consented to the proposal, though not without some tears dropped on both sides. Yet the mate taking courage, said to the master, " I believe the Lord will preserve me, for I have nothing but good will in venturing my life ; and I have not the least fear upon me ; but trust that all will do well."

The master having consented, the mate call

up the Turks, and going with two men and a boy in the boat, took in these ten Turks, all loose and unbound. Perhaps somebody will think this to be a very inconsiderate act of the mate, and that it would have been more prudent to have tied the 'Turks' hands, the rather because he had made the men promise, that they should do nothing to the Turks, until he said, he could do no more ; for then he gave them liberty to act for their lives as they judged convenient. Now since he knew not how near he should bring the Turks ashore, and whether they should not have been necessitated to swim a little, it seemed not prudent, to do any thing which might have exasperated them ; for if it had fallen out so that they must have swam, then of necessity they must have been untied ; which would have been dangerous. Yet the mate did not omit to be as careful as he possibly could. For calling in the captain of the Turks, he placed him first in the boat's stern ; then calling for another, he placed him in his lap, and one on each side, and two more in their laps, until he had placed them all ; which he did to prevent a sudden rising. He himself sat with a boat hook in his hand on the bow of the boat, having next to him one of the ship's men, and two that rowed, having one a carpenter's adze, and the other a cooper's heading knife. These were all their arms, besides what belonged to the Turks

which they had at their command. Thus the boat went off, and stood on the shore. But as they came near it, the men growing afraid, one of them cried out of a sudden, "Lord have mercy on us, there are Turks in the bushes on shore." The Turks in the boat perceiving the English to be afraid, all rose at once. But the mate, who in this great strait continued to be hearty, shewed himself now to be a man of courage, and bid the men take up such arms as they had; but do nothing with them until he gave them leave. And then seeing that there were no men in the bushes, and that it was only an imagination, all fear was taken away from him, and his courage increasing, he thought with himself, It is better to strike a man, than to cleave a man's head; and turning the boat hook in his hand, he struck the captain a smart blow and bid him sit down; which he did instantly, and so did all the rest. After the boat was come so near the shore, that they could easily wade, the mate bade the Turks jump out, and so they did, and because they said they were about four miles from a town, he gave them some loaves, and other necessaries.

They would fain have persuaded the English to go with them ashore to a town, promising to treat them with wine, and other good things; but though the mate trusted in divine Providence, yet he was not so careless as freely to enter into

an apparent danger, without being necessitated thereto: for though he had some thoughts that the Turks would not have done him any evil, yet it was too hazardous thus to have yielded to the mercy of those that lived there: and therefore he very prudently rejected their invitation, well knowing that the Scripture saith, "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." The Turks seeing they could not persuade him, took their leave with signs of great kindness, and so went on shore. The English then putting the boat closer in, threw them all their arms on shore, being unwilling to keep any thing of theirs. And when the Turks got up the hill, they waved their caps at the English, and so joyfully took their last farewell. And as soon as the boat came again on board they had a fair wind, which they had not all the while the Turks were on board. Thus Thomas Lurting saved the ship and his men: which being thus wonderfully preserved, returned to England with a prosperous wind.

Now before the vessel arrived at London, the news of this extraordinary case was come thither, and when she was coming up the Thames, the king with the duke of York, and several Lords, being at Greenwich, it was told him, there was a Quaker's ketch coming up the river that had been taken up by the Turks, and redeemed themselves without fighting: the king

hearing this, came with his barge to the ship's side, and holding the entering rope in his hand, he understood from the mate's own mouth, how the thing had happened. But when he heard him say, how they had let the Turks go free, he said to the master, "You have done like a fool, for you might have had good gain for them:" and to the mate he said, "You should have brought the Turks to me." But the mate answered, "I thought it better for them to be in their own country." At which the king and others smiled, and so went away, thinking that the master had done foolishly; but he and his mate were of another opinion, and they made it appear that they did approve the lesson of our Saviour, (Love your enemies, and do good to those that hate you,) not only with their mouths, but that they had also put it into practice.

Though I have described this fact from a printed relation, yet I have added some circumstances from the mouth of the said mate, with whom I had some acquaintance.

Several years afterwards, when some seamen of the people called Quakers were in slavery at Algiers, G. Fox wrote a book to the grand sultan, and the king at Algiers, wherein he laid before them their indecent behaviour, and unreasonable dealings, shewing them from their alcoran that this displeased God, and that Mahomet had given them other directions. To

this he added a succinct narrative of what hath been related here of G. Pattison's ship being taken and retaken, and how the Turks were set at liberty, without being made slaves; by which the Mahometans might see what kind of Christians the Quakers were, viz. such as shewed effectually that they loved their enemies, according to the doctrine of their supreme law-giver, Christ. Now concerning those Quakers at Algiers, of whom mention hath been made that they were slaves there, it was a pretty long time before opportunity was found to redeem them: but in the meantime they so faithfully served their masters, that they were suffered to go loose through the town, without being chained or fettered; and liberty was also allowed them to meet at set times for religious worship; and their patrons themselves would sometimes come and see what they did there; and finding no images or prints, as Papist slaves in the exercise of their worship made use of, but hearing from their slaves that they reverently adored and worshipped the living God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, they commended them for it, and said it was very good, and that they might freely do so. And since one of them was raised to speak by way of edification to his friends, some other English slaves frequenting that meeting, came to be united with them. In the meantime the name of Quakers came to be known at

Algiers, as a people that might be trusted beyond others.

It was in this year that William Caton went into England with his wife from Holland where he was married and two friends more, one of whom was Judith Zinspenning my mother who was moved to speak at the meeting at Kingston, where W. Caton interpreted for her. At another time being in a meeting in London, and he not present, and feeling herself stirred up to declare the loving kindness of the Lord to those that feared him, she desired one Peter Sybrands to be her interpreter: but he, though an honest man, yet not very fit for that service, one or more friends, told her they were so sensible of the power by which she spoke, that though they did not understand her words, yet they were edified by the life and power that accompanied her speech, and therefore they little regretted the want of interpretation; and so she went on without any interpreter. She had indeed a very good talent, and left such repute behind, that I coming several years after into England, kindness was shewed me in several places on her account. After a stay of some weeks in London, and thereabouts, she went to Colchester, in order to return with W. Caton's wife to Holland; but making some stay in that town, she there wrote a book of proverbs, which W. Caton having translated into English, was printed in London; and after

her departure, he staying behind travelled through Essex, Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Yorkshire; and coming into Lancashire, he repaired to Swarthmore, and found there not only his ancient mistress, Margaret Fell, who received him very kindly, but also G. Fox, not long before he was taken prisoner.

From thence Caton went to Sunderland, and so to Scarborough, where meeting with a vessel bound for Holland, he embarked, and went off with a fair wind; but it was not long before the wind changed: and being about ten leagues from the land, the sky began to look tempestuous; which made Caton advise the master to return: but he thinking the weather would soon change, was unwilling to do so; yet it fell out otherwise, for a violent storm arose, by which the ship was so exceedingly tossed, that she grew leaky, and took so much water, that the pumps were continually kept going. But this so wearied the seamen, that Caton also fell to pumping; for though he found himself prepared to meet death, if it had been the will of the Lord, yet he knew it to be the duty of a man to preserve his life by lawful means, as long as possible; besides he pitied the poor seamen, and so was made willing to help them as much as laid in his power. But at length they lost the use of the rudder, and were near the sands

and shallows, by which the danger was greatly increased, and death seemed to approach.

Now Caton though given up in the will of the Lord, and prepared to have found his grave in the deep, yet did not omit to call upon the Lord, and to pray to the Most High for deliverance, if it were consistent with his holy will; and when the storm was at the highest, his supplication was heard, and the tempest on a sudden began to cease, and the wind to abate; which gave him occasion to praise the Almighty for the great mercy shewn to him and the mariners. Yet the wind being contrary, the master resolved to enter Yarmouth, where Caton met with another storm: for on a first day of the week being at a meeting of his friends, he with seven more were apprehended, and carried to the main guard. The next day they were brought before the bailiffs of the town, who tendered them the oath of allegiance; which they refusing to take, were sent to prison, where he was kept above six months, so that it was not till the next year that he returned into Holland.

Whilst he was in jail, Stephen Crisp came the first time into Holland to visit his friends there, and to edify them with his gift. It would not be amiss here to say a little of his qualifications. He was a man of notable natural abilities, and had been zealous for religion before he entered into fellowship

with those called Quakers. But when the report of this people spread itself in the place where he lived; he made inquiry after them and their doctrine, and though he heard nothing but evil spoken of them; it nevertheless made some impression upon his mind, when he considered how they were derided, hated, slandered, and persecuted; because this generally had been the lot of those that truly feared God. But having heard that one of their tenets was, that sin might be overcome in this life, this seemed to him a great error. And therefore when James Parnel came to Colchester, he armed himself with arguments, to oppose him earnestly: for looking upon him as one that was but a youth, he thought he should be able to prevail upon him. He himself was then about seven and twenty years of age, being not only well versed in sacred writ, but also in the writings of many of the ancient philosophers. After he had heard Parnel preach very powerfully, and found his words more piercing than he had imagined, he ventured to oppose him with some queries: but he soon found that this young man was endued with sound judgment: and with all his wisdom and knowledge he was not able to resist him, but was forced to submit to the truth he held forth. Now he thought himself so enriched, that for a month or two he made it his business by the strength of his reason to de-

find the truth he had embraced. But he soon found this was not sufficient; for self was not subdued under the cross, and he was not yet come to an experimental knowledge of what he asserted and defended in words. In this condition he saw that he must become truly poor in spirit, if God ever should enrich him with heavenly wisdom. This brought him to mourning and sorrow, by which he came more and more to be weaned from his natural knowledge, wherein he used to delight. And continuing faithful in this way of self denial, he at length began to enjoy peace in his mind, and so advanced in virtue and real knowledge, that in time he became an eminent minister of the gospel, and travelling to and fro, many were converted by his ministry.

Francis Howgil in the latter part of this year, being in the market at Kendal in Westmoreland about his business, was summoned by the high-constable to appear before the justices of the peace at a tavern. For being a zealous preacher among those called Quakers, occasion was watched to imprison him under some colour of justice, how unjust soever. Being come to the place appointed, the oath of allegiance was tendered him; and because for conscience-sake he refused to swear, they committed him to prison till the assizes at Appleby. Then appearing at Appleby, the same oath was tendered him in

court by the judges ; for not taking of which he was indicted, only he had liberty to answer to the indictment at the next assizes. In the meantime there being a jail delivery at Appleby, he was required to enter into bond for his good behaviour : but well knowing this was only a snare to bring him into further bonds, he refused, and so was re-committed to prison. And not being tried till next year, we shall leave him there.

About this time happened a singular case, which I cannot well pass by unmentioned. One Oliver Atherton, a man of a weak constitution, having refused to pay tithes to the countess of Derby, who laid claim to the ecclesiastical revenues of the parish of Ormskirk, where he lived, was by her prosecution imprisoned at Derby, in a moist and unwholesome hole, which so weakened him, that after having lain there two years and a half, he grew sick ; and a letter was written in his name to the countess, in which was laid before her not only the cause why he had refused the payment of tithes, viz. for conscience-sake, but also that his life was in danger, if he staid longer in that unwholesome prison ; and that therefore she ought to shew compassion, lest she drew the guilt of innocent blood upon her.

Now though Oliver's son who brought this letter, met with rough treatment for not uncover-

ing his head, yet the letter was delivered into her own hands: but the countess continued hard-hearted. Godfrey the son returned to his father in prison, and told him (who was now on his death bed) that the countess would not allow him any liberty. To which he said, "She has been the cause of much bloodshed; but this will be the heaviest blood to her that ever she spilled." And not long after he died. His friends having got his corpse, carried it to Ormskirk, but at Garstang, Preston, and other towns they passed, they fastened to the market crosses the following inscription, which also had been put on his coffin.

"This is Oliver Atherton from the parish of Ormskirk, who by the countess' of Derby had been persecuted to death, for keeping a good conscience towards God and Christ, in not paying of tithes to her."

Now though three more, who with him were imprisoned for the same cause, gave notice of this to the countess that they might not likewise die in prison, as their fellow prisoner had, yet she would shew no pity; and threatened to accuse those at Garstang, to the king and his council, for having suffered the putting up of the said inscription. But by this she opened peoples mouths the more, and an omnipotent hand prevented the executing of her threaten-

ing: for exactly three weeks after the day Atherton was buried, she died.

This year also in October, Humphry Smith, a preacher among those called Quakers, having been prisoner a year at Winchester, for his religion, was by death delivered from his bonds. He had a vision in the year 1660, in the month called July, concerning the fire of London, which happened six years after: a relation of which he gave forth in print.

In the year 1662, being about London, he said to some of his friends, That he had a narrow path to pass through; and more than once signified, he saw he should be imprisoned, and that it might cost him his life. And coming not long after to Alton in Hampshire, he was taken from a meeting of his friends, and committed to a stinking close prison at Winchester, where, after a whole year's imprisonment, he fell sick; and in the time of his sickness spoke many excellent words to those about him, signifying, that he was given up to the will of the Lord either in life or death. And lying in great weakness, he said, "My heart is filled with the power of God. It is good for a man at such a time as this, to have the Lord to be his friend." At another time he was heard to say, "Lord, thou hast sent me forth to do thy will, and I have been faithful unto thee in my small measure, which thou hast committed unto me; but

if thou wilt yet try me farther, thy will be done." Also he said, "I am the Lord's, let him do what he will." Not long before his departure he prayed very earnestly, saying, "O Lord, hear the inward sighs and groans of thine oppressed, and deliver my soul from the oppressor. Hear me, O Lord, uphold and preserve me. I know that my Redeemer liveth. Thou art strong and mighty, O Lord." He also prayed to God, that he would deliver his people from their cruel oppressors. And for those that had been convinced by his ministry, that the Lord would be their teacher. He continued quiet and sensible to the last period of his life, dying a prisoner for bearing witness to truth; and thus he stepped from this troublesome and transitory life, into one that is everlasting. ,

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

THE EIGHTH BOOK.

IN the foregoing year we left G. Fox in Lancaster prison, where at the sessions the oath of allegiance being tendered to, and refused by him, he was brought to his trial in the month called March, which begins the year 1664. Being brought to the bar before judge Twisden, he said, "Peace be amongst you all." At which the judge looking upon him, said, "What! Do you come into the court with your hat on?" Whereupon the jailor taking it off, G. Fox said, "The hat is not the honour that comes from God." Then said the judge, "Will you take the oath of allegiance?" G. Fox answered, "I never took any oath in my life." "Well," said the judge, "Will you swear, or no?" G. Fox replied, "I am a Christian, and Christ command"

me not to swear; and so doth the apostle James likewise; and whether I should obey God or man, do thou judge, "I ask you again, said the judge, "Whether you will swear or no!" To which he made answer, "I am neither Turk, Jew, nor Heathen, but a Christian, and should shew forth Christianity. Dost thou not know (thus he went on) that Christians in the primitive times, under the ten persecutions, and some also of the martyrs in queen Mary's days, refused swearing, because Christ and the apostles had forbidden it? Ye have experience enough, how many men have sworn first to the king, and then against him. But as for me, I have never taken an oath in my life; and my allegiance doth not lie in swearing, but in truth and faithfulness: for I honour all men, much more the king. But Christ, who is the great Prophet, who is the King of kings, the Saviour of the world, and the great Judge of the whole world, he saith, I must not swear. Now the point is, whether I must obey Christ, or thee. For it is in tenderness of conscience, and in obedience to the command of Christ, that I do not swear. And we have the word of a king for tender consciences." G. Fox having spoke thus much, asked the judge, if he did own the king?" To which he said, "Yes, I do own the king." "Why then," said he, "Dost thou not observe his declaration from Breda,

and his promises made since he came into England, that no man should be called in question for matters of religion, so long as they lived peaceably? Now if thou ownest the king, why dost thou call me into question, and put me upon taking an oath, seeing thou, or none, can charge me with unpeaceable living?" The judge looking angry, said, "Sirrah, will you swear?" To which G. Fox told him, "I am none of thy sirrahs; I am a Christian; and for thee, who art an old man and a judge, to sit there and give nicknames to the prisoners, doth not become either thy grey hairs or thy office." The judge being a little more cool, after some words to and fro, said, "G. Fox, say whether thou wilt take the oath, yea, or nay?" To which he replied, "If I could take any oath at all, I should take this: for I do not deny some oaths only, or on some occasions, but all oaths according to Christ's doctrine, who said, "Swear not at all." Now if thou, or any of you, or any of your ministers or priests here, will prove that ever Christ or his apostle, after they had forbidden all swearing, commanded Christians to swear, then I will swear." None of the priests offering to speak, the judge said, "I am a servant to the king, and the king sent me not to dispute, with you, but to put the laws in execution; and therefore I tender the oath of allegiance." G. Fox continuing to refuse swearing,

was sent again to prison. Two days after, being brought again before the judge, it was asked him, "Whether he would traverse or submit?" To which G. Fox said, he desired he might have liberty to traverse the indictment, and try it. Then order was given to take him away, and he was kept in prison till the next assizes.

Being prisoner in Lancaster castle, there was much talk of the Turks great progress in Hungary, there being at that time a war between the Emperor and the Turks; and many being afraid, he said to some, "That walking once in his chamber, he saw the Lord's power turn against the Turk, and that he was turning back again. And within a month after news came that he was defeated. Another time, as he was walking in the room, with his mind upon the Lord, he saw an extraordinary great light, and looking up, he beheld an angel of the Lord, with a glittering sword stretched southward, which shone so bright, as if the court had been all on fire. Of which I have for proof what he mentions of it in his journal, and also in another small book he gave out with the title of a Warning to England. Not long after a war broke out between England and Holland, and some time after the pestilence appeared in London (which lies southerly from Lancaster) and after two years that city by the fire was turned into rubbish.

But I return to the Lancaster assizes. Mar-

garet Fell, who was now a widow, was also under confinement for refusing the oath of allegiance. And G. Fox being in prison, wrote several papers to the magistrates, in which he manifested the evil of persecution, and exhorted to virtue and piety.

In the month called August, the assizes were held again at Lancaster, G. Fox being brought thither (judge Turner then sitting on the crown bench) and being called to the bar, the judge asked the justices, whether they had tendered him the oath at the foregoing sessions? They saying they had, and having sworn it, the jury were sworn too. Then the judge asked him, whether he had not refused the oath at the last assizes? To which he answered, "I never took an oath in my life; and Christ the Saviour and Judge of the world said, "Swear not at all." The judge seeming not to take notice of this answer, asked him, whether or no he had not refused to take the oath at the last assizes? G. Fox maintaining the unlawfulness of swearing, the judge said, he was not at that time to dispute whether it was lawful to swear, but to inquire whether he had refused to take the oath, or no. ' G. Fox then signifying that he did not disapprove the things mentioned in the oath, said, "Plotting against the king, and owning the Pope's, or any other foreign power, I utterly deny." "Well," said the judge: "You say well

in that: but did you deny to take the oath; what say you?" "What wouldst thou have me to say?" replied he, "I have told thee before what I did say." After some more words from both sides, the indictment was read. G. Fox having informed himself of the errors that were in it, said he had something to speak to it, for there were many gross errors in it. The judge signified that he would not hear him, but when he was at the point of giving judgment the jury going out, soon returned, and brought him in guilty. Whereupon he told them, that both the justices and they too had foresworn themselves; which caused such confusion in the court, that the pronouncing judgment was delayed. Margaret Fell being next brought to the bar, was also declared guilty.

The next day she and G. Fox were brought up again to receive sentence. Her counsel pleading many errors in her indictment, she was set by; and G. Fox then being called, shewed himself unwilling to let any man plead for him; which seemed to make some stop; yet he was asked by the judge, what he had to say, why he should not pass sentence upon him. At which he told him, "I am no lawyer, but yet I have, much to say, if thou wilt but have patience to hear." Thereupon those on the bench laughed and said, "Come what have you to say?" Then he asked the judge, whether the oath was to be

tendered to the king's subjects, or to the subjects of foreign princes." To which the judge said, "To the subjects of this realm." Then said George, "Look on the indictment, and ye may see that ye have left out the word subject : and not having named me in the indictment as a subject, ye cannot premunire me for not taking the oath." They then looking to the statute, and the indictment, saw that it was as he said, and the judge confessed that it was an error. Next G. F. told him, he had something else to stop judgment; and he desired them to look what day the indictment said the oath was tendered to him at the sessions there? They looking, said, it was the eleventh day of January: then he asked, "What day of the week was that session held on?" "On a Tuesday," said they. To which G. F. said, "Look in your almanack, and see whether there was any sessions held at Lancaster on the eleventh of January." They looking, found that the eleventh day, was the day called Monday, and that the sessions were on the day called Tuesday, which was the twelfth day of the said month: "Look ye now," said he, "ye have indicted me for refusing the oath in the quarter sessions held at Lancaster on the eleventh day of January last, and the justices have sworn that they tendered me the oath in open sessions here that day, and the jury upon their oath have found me guilty

thereupon ; and yet ye see there was no sessions held at Lancaster that day." The judge, to cover the matter, asked, "Whether the sessions did not begin on the eleventh day?" To which some in the court answered, "No ; the sessions held but one day, and that was the twelfth." Then the judge said, this was a great mistake, and an error." Some of the judges grew so angry at this, that they seeming ready to have gone off the bench, stamped, and said, "Who hath done this ? Somebody hath done this on purpose." Then said G. F. "Are not the justices here that have sworn to this indictment, foresworn men?" But this is not all ; I have more yet to offer why sentence should not be given against me, in what year of the king was it, that the last assize, which was in the month called March, was holden here?" To this the judge said, "It was in the sixteenth year of the king." But said G. Fox. "The indictment says it was in the fifteenth year." This was also acknowledged to be an error : but both judge and justices were in such a fret, that they knew not what to say ; for it had been sworn also, that the oath was tendered to G. Fox at the assize mentioned in the indictment, viz. in the fifteenth year of the king, whereas it was in the sixteenth ; which made G. Fox say, "Is not the court here forsworn also, they having sworn a whole year false?" Some other remarkable

errors he shewed, which I, having no mind to be tedious, pass by in silence.

G. Fox then desiring justice, and saying, that he did not look for mercy, the judge said, you must have justice, and you shall have law ; which made him ask, " Am I now free from all that hath been done in this matter ? " " Yes," said the judge : but then starting up in a rage he said, " I can put the oath to any man here ; and I will tender you the oath again." G. Fox then telling him, that he had examples enough of yesterday's swearing, and false swearing ; " For I saw before my eyes," said he, " That both justices and jury forswore themselves ;" yet the judge asked him, if he would take the oath ? But he replied, " Do me justice for my false imprisonment all this while ;" for he had been locked up , as was well known, in a wet and cold room, and therefore he said, " I ought to be set at liberty." At which the judge said, " You are at liberty, but I will put the oath to you again." G. Fox then turning himself about, said to the people, " Take notice, this is a snare ; but I ought to be set free from the jailor, and from this court." But the judge instead of hearkening to that, cried, " Give him the book." G. Fox then taking the book, and looking in it, said, " I see it is a bible, and I am glad of it." In the meantime the jury being called by order of the judge, they stood by ; for though they had

desired, after they had brought in their former verdict, to be dismissed, yet he told them, he could not dismiss them yet, because he should have business for them: and therefore they must attend, and be ready. G. Fox, perceiving his intent, looked him in the face, which made him blush: nevertheless he caused the oath to be read, and then asked G. Fox whether he would take the oath or no; to which he said, "Ye have given me a book here to kiss, and to swear on; and this book says, kiss the Son; and the Son says in this book, "Swear not at all," and so says also the apostle James: now I say as the book says, and yet ye imprison me, for doing as the book bids me. How chance ye do not imprison the book for saying so? How comes it the book is at liberty among you, which bids me swear not? Why do not ye imprison the book also; Whilst he was speaking thus, he held up the bible open, to shew the place where Christ forbids swearing. But the book was taken from him, and the judge said, "No, but we will imprison George Fox.

This case was so singular, that it was spread over all the country, as a by-word, that they gave G. Fox a book to swear on, that commanded him to swear not at all; and that this book, viz. the Bible, was at liberty, and he in prison, for doing as the Bible said. But the judge urged him still to swear; to which G. Fox said, "I am a man

of a tender conscience; consider therefore that it is in obedience to Christ's command that I cannot swear: but if any of you can convince me, that after Christ and the apostle had commanded not to swear, they did alter that command, and commanded Christians to swear, then ye shall see I will swear." And he seeing there several priests, said, "If ye cannot do it, let your priest do it." But none of the priests said any thing; and the judge said, "All the world cannot convince you." To which he replied, "Now is it likely the world should convince me? For the whole world lies in wickedness: but bring out your spiritual men, as ye call them, to convince me." Then the sheriff and the judge said, that the angel swore in the Revelations. To which G. Fox replied, "When God bringeth his first begotten Son into the world, he saith, "Let all the angels of God worship him;" and he said, "Swear not at all." "Nay," said the judge, "I will not dispute." Then he told the jury, it was for Christ's sake he could not swear; and therefore he warned them not to act contrary to that of God in their consciences, because they must all appear before the judgment seat. After some words spoken, the jailor took him away.

In the afternoon he was brought up again. And the jury having brought him guilty of what

he was charged with in the indictment, viz. his not taking the oath, the judge asked him, what he had to say for himself. He then desired the indictment to be read; since he could not answer to that which he had not heard. The clerk reading it, the judge said, "Take heed it be not false again." But the clerk read it in such a manner, that G. Fox could hardly understand what he read, and when he had done, the judge asked G. Fox what he had to say to the indictment?" To which he said, "At once hearing so large a writing read, and that at such a distance, that I could not distinctly hear all the parts of it; I cannot well say what to say to it: but if you will let me have a copy of it, and give me time to consider, I shall answer it." This put the court to a little stand; but at length the judge asked him, what time he would have? And he answered, "Till the next assize." But said the judge, "What plea will you make now; are you guilty, or not guilty?" To which he replied, "I am not guilty at all of denying swearing obstinately and wilfully: and as for those things mentioned in the oath, as jesuitical plots, and foreign powers, I utterly deny them in my heart: and if I could take any oath, I should take this; but I never took an oath in all my life." To this the judge returned, "You say well; but the king is sworn, the parliament is sworn, I am sworn, the justices are sworn

and the law is preserved by oaths. On which G. Fox told him, they had had sufficient experience of mens' swearing, and had seen how the justices and jury swore wrong the other day; and continued he, "If thou hadst read in the book of Martyrs, how many of them did refuse to swear, both within the time of the ten persecutions, and in bishop Bonner's day, thou mayst see that to deny swearing in obedience to Christ's command, is no new thing." To this the judge said; he wished the laws were otherwise. G. Fox then said, "Our yea is yea, and our nay is nay: and if we transgress our nay and our yea, let us suffer as they do, or should do, that swear falsely. This I have offered to the king, and he said it was reasonable.

After some farther discourse, G. Fox was committed to prison again, and colonel Kirby ordered the jailor to keep him close, and to suffer nobody to come to him, as one that was not fit to be discoursed with. The jailor did not scruple to follow this order, for he locked him up in a smoky tower, where the smoke of the other prisoners came up so thick, that sometimes one could hardly see a burning candle; so that there seemed to have been an intent to choke him; for the turnkey could hardly be persuaded to unlock one of the upper doors a little to let out the smoke. Besides this hardship, in wet weather it rained upon his bed to

that degree, that his shirt grew wet. In this pitiful condition he lay during a long cold winter, which so afflicted him, that his body swelled, and his limbs were much benumbed. Here we will leave him till he was brought again to his trial, which was not before the next year.

But before I part with him, I must mention, that some time before, he had written several papers to the emperor, the kings of France and Spain, and also to the pope. These writings were by somebody else turned into Latin, and so given out in print. In these he levelled chiefly against persecution for religion's sake. He reprov'd the king of Spain more especially, because of the inquisition, and the burning of people: and he did not spare the pope, as being the spring of these evils, saying, "Innocent blood hath long cried for vengeance to the Lord: the earth almost swims with innocent blood; and the cry of it is heard. Your frozen profession, and your cold winter images being set up in your streets, the Lord God of power and dread, and of heaven and earth will be avenged on thee, and you all; his day is approaching. Ye great and rich cardinals and pope, ye have been fed like fat hogs; and seeing that thou wouldst not receive the Lord's messengers, but threw them into prison, and into your inquisition, it may be the Lord may give you a visit another way, for his dread his gone

out, and his zeal is kindled against you.—The fields are sprinkled with the blood of the innocent, and ye are the aceldama, or the field of blood. But the Lord is coming to take vengeance upon you; his hand is stretched over your heads, and his power is gone over you; with that he will rule you, and smite you down, and bring you that are lofty from your seats, and abase your pride, and take the glory to himself.—How much blood, which is unmeasurable, and cannot be measured here, have ye drank since the days of the apostles, and made yourselves drunk with it! But now is the indignation and wrath of the Almighty come and coming upon you; and thou pope must feel it.—Tremble therefore, thou pope, tremble, fear, and quake thou pope, tremble ye cardinals, tremble ye jesuits, tremble ye priors, tremble ye monks and friars, of what rank soever, for the army of the Lord God is coming over you, by whom ye shall be shaken, and dashed to pieces." These are but small sparkles of that flame which G. Fox blew against the pope, intermixing his writings with many demonstrations, that the Romish church was the whore of Babylon, and that she it was that had defiled herself with idolatry and superstition, and had bathed herself in the blood of the saints, having furiously attacked them with sword and fire. This he concluded with these words: "The plagues o

God will be thy portion, O pope, who hath deceived the nations: and all ye jesuits and cardinals; howl, for your misery is coming, the mighty day of the Lord God upon you all; the Lord God, who will be worshipped in spirit and in truth, and with none of your inventions." Thus G. Fox wrote in that day to the pope and his counsellors; and no wonder that he paid dear for this sharp language against the head of the church of Rome; for it may be believed, that a great many of the court party, in those days, were either concealed Papists, or favourers of them: and yet among the national clergy, and even of those of other persuasions, many branded the Quakers with the odious name of secret Papists, thereby to make them incur the hatred of the people.

Now I return to Francis Howgil, whom in the foregoing year we left in prison at Appleby. It was in the fore part of this year that he was brought to his trial. Being come into court before the judges sat, he spoke to the clerk of the assizes, and told him, he did not know whether they expected his appearance then or not: the clerk said, "You have done well," and that he would acquaint the judge, and he should only engage to him to appear the next assizes, to answer the indictment against him, and that he should not appear in court; Francis bid him do what he would. In the meantime Sir Philip

Musgrave (so called) a great adversary to the truth, and the great and chief prosecutor of Francis, had informed the judges against him, that he was a dangerous person, a ringleader and a keeper up of meetings of dangerous consequence, and destructive to the peace of the nation; so then they concluded he should appear in court; and the clerk informed him, and told him about what time he should be called. So the court began; judge Twisden gave the charge to the grand jury, in which he said, there was a sort of people, who under pretence of conscience and religion, seemed to build upon the king's declaration from Breda, and under colour of this, hatched treasons and rebellions, and gave the jury charge to enquire and present such, that the peace of the nation might be preserved; so they empannelled the jury, and Francis was called to the bar, and the judge spake as followeth :

Judge, speaking calmly to him, said, the face of things was much altered since the last assizes, and made a large speech to him and the country, telling him, that all sects under pretence of conscience did violate the laws, and hatched rebellions, "Not" (saith he) "that I have any thing to charge you with : but seeing the oath of allegiance was tendered to you the last assizes, and you refused to take it, it was looked upon that such persons were enemies to the king and

government ;" and said, " I will not trouble you now to answer to your indictment, but I must do that the next assizes ; in the meantime you must enter into recognizance for your good behaviour."

To which F. H. answered, I desire liberty to speak, which he had without interruption, and said as followeth :

F. H. Judge Twisden, thou very well knowest upon how slender an account, or none, I was brought before thee the last assizes, where thou was pleased to tender me the oath of allegiance, though I believe both thou and the rest of the court, didst know it was a received principle amongst us not to swear at all ; many reasons I gave thee then ; many more I have to add, if I may have audience ; for it may appear to you an absurd thing, and obstinacy in me to refuse it, if I should not tender a reason ; I am (said he) none of those that make religion a cloak of maliciousness, nor conscience a cloak to carry on plots or conspiracies, the Lord hath redeemed me and many more out of such things ; and seeing I am engaged to appear at the next assizes, I desire no farther thing may be required of me.

Judge. You must enter into bond this dangerous time, and therefore consider of it, and tell me now, or before the assizes are ended.

The second day of the assizes he was called again.

F. H. Seeing thou art pleased to let me answer to the indictment, which I am willing to do, I have been of good behaviour, and shall so continue; but it seems a hard thing to me, and full of severity, that seeing I am obliged to appear to answer an indictment of so high a nature (if prosecuted against me) which tends to the loss of my liberty for life, and my estate for ever, I hope the court will not envy me my liberty for five months.

Judge Turner said, We do not desire your imprisonment, if you will be of good behaviour.

F. H. pressed that they would not put him upon giving bond to be of good behaviour, knowing himself to be bound by the truth, that he could not misbehave himself.

One Daniel Flemming, another persecuting justice, had framed another indictment against him for meeting, and stood up (fearing the snare of giving bond would not hold) and said as followeth:

D. Flemming. My lord, he is a great speaker, it may be the Quakers cannot want him.

Judge. Let him be what he will, if he will enter into bond.

F. H. said he he had nothing to accuse himself of, for his conscience bore him witness that

he loved peace, and sought it with all men.

Judges both spoke. What do you tell of conscience? We meddle not with it; but you contemn the laws, and keep up great meetings, and go not to church.

F. H. We are fallen in a sad age; if meeting together peaceably, without arms, or force or intention of hurt to any man, only to worship God in spirit, and exhort one another to righteousness, and to pray together in the Holy Ghost, as the primitive Christians of old, that this should be reckoned breach of the peace and misbehaviour.

Judge Twisden. Do you compare these times with them? They were heathens that persecuted, but we are Christian magistrates.

F. H. It is a doctrine always held by us and a received principle which we believe, that Christ's kingdom could not be set up with carnal weapons; nor the gospel propagated by force of arms, nor the church of God built up with violence; but the Prince of Peace was manifested amongst us, and we could learn war no more, but could love enemies, and forgive them that did evil to us.

Philip Musgrave stood up, and said, "My Lord, we have been remiss towards this people, and have striven with them, and have put them in prison again and again, and fined them, and as soon as they are out, they meet again."

Then stood up John Lowther, called a justice, and said, "My Lord, they grow insolent, notwithstanding all laws, and the execution of them, yet they grow upon us, and their meetings are dangerous.

Philip Musgrave stood up, and produced a paper (and justice Flemming, so called, seconded him) in great capital letters, and gave it to the judge; he told the judge, that it happened some Quakers were sent to prison, and one of them died at Lancaster, and they carried his corpse through the country, and set that paper upon his coffin, this is the body of such an one who was persecuted by Daniel Flemming to death.

Judge. We have spent much time with you, I will discourse no more.

F. H. I acknowledge your moderation towards me, allowing me liberty to speak, I shall not trouble you much longer; I shall be willing to appear to answer to the indictment at the assizes, and in the meantime to live peaceably and quietly, as I have done, if that will satisfy.

Judge. You must enter into bond to come to no more meetings.

F. H. I cannot do that, if I did, I should be treacherous to God and my own conscience, and the people and you would but judge me a hypocrite.

They were loath to commit him, yet at last they did.

This was in the latter part of the month called March, and he was kept five months as before in a bad room, and none suffered to speak with him, but they who got secretly to him without the jailor's knowledge.

It was about this time that John Audland departed this life. He, and his bosom friend, John Camm, (whose decease was some years before) had travelled much together in the ministry of the gospel; therefore I will give an uninterrupted relation of their latter end, but first that of John Camm.

He was of very good parentage, born at Camsgil, in the barony of Kendal, Westmoreland, which seat had been possessed by his ancestors long before him. From his childhood he was inclined to be religious, and seeking after the best things, he joined with those that were the most strict in performing religious duties. And having afterwards heard G. Fox, he embraced as truth the doctrine he preached, and growing up in it, he himself became an eminent minister of the gospel among those called Quakers. He and his bosom friend John Audland, were the first of that society who preached at Bristol, where having been in the meetings of the Baptists and Independents, they also had meetings

in several places without the city, where there was a great concourse of people, and many received their doctrine. Since that time, these two gospel ministers travelled much together, and many were convinced by their ministry. But at length John Camm, who did not spare himself, began to fall under a kind of consumption, insomuch that through weakness, he was fain to stay at home; and he often called his children and family together, exhorting them to godliness, and praying to the Lord for them. Some weeks before his death, he once expressed himself thus: "How great a benefit do I enjoy above many, having such a long time of preparation for death, being daily dying, that I may live for ever with my God, in that kingdom which is unspeakably full of glory. My outward man daily wastes and moulders down, and draws towards its place and centre; but my inward man revives, and mounts upwards towards its place and habitation in the heavens." The morning he departed this life, he called his wife, children, and family to him, and exhorted them to fear the Lord, to love his truth, and walk in it, and to be loving and kind to one another, telling them that his glass was run, the time of his departure was come; and he was to enter into everlasting ease, joy, and rest: charging them all, to be patient and content with their parting with him. And so fainting he

passed into a sweet sleep: but by the weeping and crying of those about him, he awakened, and desired to be helped up a little in his bed, and then he spoke to this effect: "My dear hearts, ye have wronged me and disturbed me, for I was at sweet rest; ye should not so passionately sorrow for my departure; this house of earth and clay must go to its place; and this soul and spirit is to be gathered up to the Lord, to live with him for ever, where we shall meet with everlasting joy." Then taking leave of his family, he charged them to be content with his departure; and lying down, within a little time deceased.

His beloved friend John Audland (who often bemoaned the loss of so dear a companion) died also of a kind of consumption: for his ardent zeal made him strain his voice beyond what his body was well able to bear. In a meeting which he once had with J. Camm in a field without Bristol, where Charles Marshall was one of his auditors, after J. Camm had left off speaking, he stood up, with an awful and shining countenance; and lifting up his voice as a trumpet, he said, "I proclaim a spiritual war with the inhabitants of the earth, who are in the fall and separation from God, and I prophecy to the four winds of heaven." Thus he went on with mighty power, exhorting to repentance and spoke with such a piercing authority, that

some of the auditory fell on the ground, and cried out under a sense of their transgressions. And when at Bristol he many times preached in an orchard to a great multitude, and would lift up his voice exceedingly, in order to be heard by all. Thus he spent his natural strength, though he was but a young man. About the twentieth year of his age he married with one Anne Newby of Kendal, a virtuous maid, not only of good family, but also excelling in piety, and therefore she freely gave him up to travel in the service of the gospel, notwithstanding his company was very dear to her; which made her say that she believed few ever enjoyed a greater blessing in a husband so kind and affectionate. And how heartily and tenderly she loved him, may be seen by the following letter she wrote to him.

“ Dear husband,

“ Thou art dearer to me than ever; my love flows out to thee, even the same love that I am loved withal of my Father. In that love salute me to all my friends, for dear you are all unto me, my life is much refreshed in hearing from you. I received thy letters, and all my soul desireth, is to hear from thee in the life; dear heart, in life dwell, there I am with thee out of all time, out of all words, in the pure power of the Lord, there is my joy and strength; O! how

am I refreshed to hear from thee, to hear of thy faithfulness and boldness in the work of the Lord. O! dear heart, I cannot utter the joy I have concerning thee; thy presence I have continually in spirit, therewith am I filled with joy; all glory and honour be to our God for ever. O! blessed be the day in which thou wast born, that thou art found worthy to labour in the work of the Lord. Surely the Lord hath found thee faithful in a little, therefore he hath committed much unto thee; go on in the name and power of the Lord Jesus Christ, from whence all strength cometh, to whom be all glory, and honour for ever. O! dear heart, go on, conquering and to conquer, knowing this that thy crown is sure. So, dear heart, now is the time of the Lord's work, and few are willing to go forth into it. All the whole world lieth in wickedness, doing their own work; but blessed be the Lord for ever who hath called us from doing our own work, into his great work. O! marvellous are his works, and his ways past finding out. O! dear heart, thou knowest my heart, thou mayst read daily how that I rejoice in nothing more than in thy prosperity in the work of the Lord: oh! it is past my utterance to express the joy I have for thee. I am full, I am full of love towards thee, never such love as this; the mighty power of the Lord go along with thee, and keep thee faithful and val-

iant, and bold in his pure counsel, to stand single out of all the world. O! dear heart, all my love is purer than gold seven times purified in the fire; O! pure is he that hath loved us, therefore let purity and holiness cover us for ever. A joyful word it was to me, to hear that thou wast moved to go for Bristol: O! my own heart, my own life, in that which now stands, act and obey, that thou mayst stand upon thy alone guard; so, dear heart, let thy prayers be for me, that I may be kept pure, out of all temptations, singly to dwell in the life: so farewell.

“Anne Audland.”

By this letter it appears, that there was an endeared mutual love between this virtuous couple. He was a man of great knowledge, but when his understanding came to be opened by the preaching of G. Fox, he would say sometimes, “Ah, what have we been doing! Or what availeth our great profession? All our building tumbles down; our profession is high as the wind; the day of the Lord is upon it, and his word as a fire, consumes it as dry stubble; and puts an end to all empty professions and high notions, without life or substance; to all the wisdom of fallen man. We must forsake the world, and all its glory; it is all but vexation of spirit: it is a Saviour that I long for; it is he that my soul pants after. O that I may

of life, by which our souls came to be quickened and made alive; and also in and by the quickening of his holy power, we were made one in a spiritual and heavenly relation, our hearts being knit together in the unspeakable love of truth, which was our life, joy, and delight, and made our days together exceeding comfortable: as being that whereby all our temporal enjoyments were sanctified, and made a blessing to us.—How hard it was, and how great a loss, to part with so dear and tender an husband as he was to me, is far beyond what I can express: the dolour of my heart, my tongue or pen is not able to declare. Yet in this I contented myself, that it was the will of the Lord that he was taken from the evil; and that my loss, though great, was not to be compared to his eternal gain." This widow, in process of time, was married to Thomas Camm, son of John Camm, her former husband's bosom friend. She was indeed a woman of great virtue; but now I part with her, with intention to say more of her when I shall come to the time of her decease.

I return to Francis Howgil, whom we left in prison, and who now appeared again at the assizes, which were holden at Appleby, in the month called August. And he having got liberty to speak with the clerk of the assizes, who told him, that he must prepare himself to

come to a trial, answered, "He was prepared, but thought that all he could say, would little avail, believing they purposed to prosecute him with all severity." Which proved so, as will appear by what follows; for the county justices had incensed the judges against him beforehand. Yet Howgil endeavoured all he could to convince them of his innocence; and to that end drew up the substance of the oath into several heads, which he could subscribe to; to this he joined another paper to judge Turner, shewing the cause of his first commitment, and the former proceedings against him; and how unequal it was to prosecute him upon a statute made against popish recusants. He also signified in that paper, that he was a man of a tender spirit, and feared the Lord from a child, and had never taken any oath but once in his life, which was twenty years ago; and that his refusing to take the oath of allegiance, was not in any evil intent to the king's person or government, but merely upon a conscientious account, and that he could not swear, being otherwise persuaded of the Lord, seeing it was against the command of Christ, and the apostle James's doctrine. Besides, that he was able to make it evident to be against the example of the primitive Christians for divers hundreds of years, and so no new opinion. That he did neither in wilfulness nor obstinacy refuse it,

mitted to speak to me ; and thus briefly I have given thee an account hitherto. As to the oath, the substance thereof, with the representation of my case, is presented to the court already, unto which I have set my hand, and also shall in those words testify the same in open court, if required ; and seeing it is the very substance the law doth require, I desire it may be accepted, and I cleared from my imprisonment.

Judge. I am come to execute the law, and the law requires an oath, and I cannot alter it ; do you think the law must be changed for you, or only for a few ; -if this be suffered, the administration of justice is hindered, no action can be tried, nor evidence given for the king, nor other particular cases tried ; and your principles are altogether inconsistent with the law and government: I pray you shew me which way we shall proceed, shew me some reason, and give me some ground.

F. H. said, I shall : in the mouth of two or three witnesses every truth is confirmed ; and we never denied to give, and still are ready to give evidence for the king wherein we are concerned, and in any other matter for the ending of strife between man and man in truth and righteousness, and this answers the substance of the law.

Judge. Is this a good answer, think you ?

Whether to be given with or without oath: the law requires an oath.

F. H. Still evidence is and may be given in truth, according to the substance of the law, so that no detriment cometh unto any party, seeing that true testimony may be borne without an oath; and I did not speak of changing the law: yet seeing we never refused giving testimony, which answereth the intent and substance of the law, I judged it was reasonable to receive our testimony, and not to expose us to such sufferings, seeing we scrupled an oath only upon a conscientious account, in tenderness of conscience, for fear of breaking the command of Christ, the Saviour of the world, which if we do, there is none of you able to plead our cause for us with him.

Judge. But why do you not go to church, but meet in houses and private conventicles, which the law forbids.

F. H. We meet together only for the worship of the true God in Spirit and Truth, having the primitive Christians for our example, and to no other end, but that we may be edified, and God glorified; and when two or three are met together in the name of Christ, and he in the midst of them, there is a church.

Judge. That is true: but how long is it since you have been at church? Or will you go to the church the law doth allow of?

Give me some reasons why you do not go.

F. H. I have many to give thee, if thou hast patience to hear me : first, God dwells not in temples made with mens' hands. Secondly, the parish'house hath been a temple for idols, to wit, for the mass and the rood ; and I dare have no fellowship with idols, nor worship in idols temples ; for what have we to do with idols, their temples, and worship ?

Judge. Were there not houses called the houses of God, and temples ?

F. H. Yes, under the law : but the Christians, who believed in Christ, separated from these (and the temple was made and left desolate) and from the Gentiles temples too, and met together in houses, and broke bread from house to house ; and the church was not confined then to one particular place, neither is it now ; many more things I have to say : the judge interrupted.

Judge. Will you answer to your indictment ?

F. H. I know not what it is, I never heard it, though I have often desired a copy.

Judge. Clerk, read it.

So he read it : how that F. H. had wilfully, obstinately, and contemptuously denied to swear when the oath was tendered.

F. H. I deny it.

Judge. What do you deny ?

F. H. The indictment.

Judge. Did you not deny to swear? And the indictment convicts you that you did not swear.

F. H. I gave unto the court the substance of the oath, as you all know. Secondly, I told you I did not deny it out of obstinacy or wilfulness, neither in contempt of the king's law or government; for my will would rather choose my liberty, than bonds; and I am sensible it is like to be a great damage to me; I have a wife and children, and some estate, which we might subsist upon, and do good to others, and I know all this lies at stake: but if it were my life also, I durst not but do as I do, lest I should incur the displeasure of God; and do you judge I would lose my liberty wilfully, and suffer the spoiling of my estate, and the ruining of my wife and children in obstinacy and wilfulness? Sure nay.

Judge. Jury, you see he denies the oath, and he will not plead to the indictment, only excepts against it because of the form of words, but you see he will not swear, and yet he saith he denies the indictment, and you see upon what ground.

And then they called the jailor to witness and swear, that at the last assizes F. H. did refuse, &c. which he did; and the jury, without going from the bar, gave in their verdict, guilty, and then the court broke up that night.

The next day towards evening, when they had tried all the prisoners, Francis was brought to the bar to receive his sentence.

Judge stood up and said, "Come, the indictment is proved against you, what have you to say why sentence shall not be given?"

F. H. I have many things to say, if you will hear them. First, As I have said, I denied not out of obstinacy or wilfulness, but was willing to testify the truth in this matter of obedience, or any other matter wherein I was concerned. Secondly, Because swearing was directly against the command of Christ. Thirdly, Against the doctrine of the apostle. Fourthly, Even some of your principal pillars of the church of England; as bishop Usher, some time primate of Ireland, said in his works, the Waldenses did deny all swearing in their age, from that command of Christ and the apostle James, and it was a sufficient ground; and Dr. Gauden, late bishop of Exeter, in a book of his I lately read, cited very many ancient fathers, to shew, that for the first three hundred years Christians did not swear, so that it is no new doctrine.

To which the court seemed to give a little ear, and said nothing, but talked one to another; and Francis stood silent, and then the judge said, Judge. Sure you mistake.

F. H. I have not the books here.

Judge. Will you say upon your honest word they denied all swearing?

F. H. What I have said is true.

Judge. Why do you not come to church, and hear service, and be subject to the law, and to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake?

F. H. We are subject, and for that cause we do pay taxes, tribute, and custom, and give unto Cæsar the things that are his, and unto God the things that are his, to wit, worship, honour and obedience; and if thou mean the parish assembly, I tell thee faithfully, I am persuaded, and upon good ground, their teachers are not the ministers of Christ, neither their worship the worship of God.

Judge. Why; it may be for some small things in the service you reject it all.

F. H. First, it is manifest they are time-servers, one while preaching up that for divine service to people that another while they cry down, as popish, superstitious and idolatrous; and that which they have preached up twenty years together they make shipwreck of in a day, and now again call it divine, and would have all compelled to that themselves once made void.

Judge. Why; never since the king came in.

F. H. Yes, the same men that preached it down once, now cry it up; so they are so unstable and wavering, that we cannot believe they

are the ministers of Christ. Secondly, They teach for hire, and live by forced maintenance, and would force a faith upon men, contrary to Christ and his apostle's rule, who would have every one persuaded in their own minds, and said, whatsoever is not of faith is sin, and yet they say, faith is the gift of God, and we have no such faith given; but yet they would force theirs upon us; and because we cannot receive it, they cry, you are not subject to authority and the laws, and nothing but confiscations, imprisonment and banishment is threatened, and this is their greatest plea; I could mention more particulars: then the judge interrupted.

Judge. Well, I see you will not swear, nor conform, nor be subject, and you think we deal severely with you, but if you would be subject, we should not need.

F. H. I do so judge indeed, that you deal severely with us for obedience to the commands of Christ; I pray thee canst thou shew me how that any of those people, for whom the act was made, have been proceeded against by this statute, though I envy no man's liberty.

Judge. Oh yes, I can instance you many up and down the country that are premunired, I have done it myself, and pronounced sentence against divers.

F. H. What against Papists?

Judge. No.

F. H. What, against the Quakers? So I have heard indeed; though then that statute was made against Papists, thou lettest them alone, and executest it against the Quakers.

Judge. Well, you will meet in great numbers, and do increase, but there is a new statute will make you fewer.

F. H. Well, if we must suffer, it is for Christ's sake, and for well doing.

Francis then being silent, the judge pronounced the sentence, but spake so low, that the prisoner, though near to him, could scarce hear it.

The sentence was, you are put out of the king's protection and the benefit of the law, your lands are confiscate to the king during your life; and your goods and chattels for ever, and you to be prisoner during your life.

F. H. A hard sentence for my obedience to the commands of Christ; the Lord forgive you all.

So he turned from the bar; but the judge speaking, he turned again, and many more words passed to the same purpose, as before; at last the judge rose up and said.

Judge. Well, if you will yet be subject to the laws, the king will shew you mercy.

F. H. The Lord hath shewed mercy unto me, and I have done nothing against the king, nor government, nor any man, blessed be the

Lord, and therein stands my peace; for it is for Christ's sake I suffer, and not for evil doing. And so the court broke up. The people were generally moderate, and many were sorry to see what was done against him; but Francis signified how contented and glad he was, that he had any thing to lose for the Lord's precious truth, of which he had publicly borne testimony, and that he was now counted worthy to suffer for it.

This he did cheerfully, and died in bonds after above four years imprisonment, as may be related in its due time. He was a man of learning, and a great writer among his fellow believers; insomuch that during his confinement he wrote not only several edifying epistles to exhort them to constancy and steadfastness in the doctrine of truth, but also some books to refute the opposers of it.

We have here seen how the judge said, there is a new statute which will make you fewer. This statute bore the title of an act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles. And though the act made two years before did extend to banishment, yet that punishment was renewed, and expressed more at large in this which was as followeth:

Whereas an act made in the five and thirtieth

year of the reign of our late sovereign lady queen Elisabeth; entitled, an act to retain the queen's majesty's subjects in their due obedience, hath not been put in due execution by reason of some doubt of late made, whether the said act be still in force; although it be very clear and evident, and it is hereby declared, that the said act is still in force, and ought to be put in due execution:

II. For providing therefore of further and more speedy remedies against the growing and dangerous practices of seditious sectaries, and other disloyal persons, who under pretence of tender consciences, do at their meetings contrive insurrections, as late experience hath shewed;

III. Be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by, and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that if any person of the age of sixteen years or upwards, being a subject of this realm, at any time after the first day of July, which shall be in the year of our Lord, one thousand six hundred sixty and four, shall be present at any assembly, conventicle or meeting, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion, in other manner than is allowed by the liturgy or practice of the

church of England in any place within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed; at which conventicle, meeting, or assembly, there shall be five persons or more assembled together, over and above those of the same household; then it shall and may be lawful to and for any two justices of the peace of the county, limit, division or liberty wherein the offence aforesaid shall be committed, or for the chief magistrates of the place where such offence aforesaid shall be committed, (if it be within a corporation) where there are not two justices of the peace) (2) and they are hereby required and enjoined upon proof to them or him respectively made of such offence, either by confession of the party, or oath of witness, or notorious evidence of the fact (which oath the said justices of the peace, and chief magistrate respectively, are hereby empowered and required to administer) to make a record of every such offence and offences under their hands and seals respectively; (3) which record so made, as aforesaid, shall to all intents and purposes be in law taken and adjudged to be a full and perfect conviction of every such offence, and thereupon the said justices and chief magistrate respectively, shall commit every such offender so convicted, as aforesaid, to the gaol or house of correction, there to remain without bail or mainprize, for any time not

exceeding the space of three months, unless such offender shall pay down to the said justices or chief magistrate such sum of money not exceeding five pounds, as the said justices or chief magistrate (who are hereby thereunto authorized and required) shall fine the said offender at, for his or her said offence; which money shall be paid to the churchwardens for the relief of the poor of the parish where such offender did last inhabit.

IV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if such offender so convicted, as aforesaid, shall at any time again commit the like offence contrary to this act, and be thereof in manner aforesaid convicted, then such offender so convicted of such second offence, shall incur the penalty of imprisonment in the gaol or house of correction, for any time not exceeding six months, without bail or mainprize, unless such offender shall pay down to the said justices or chief magistrate, such sum of money, not exceeding ten pounds, as the said justices or chief magistrate (who are thereunto authorized and required, as aforesaid) shall fine the said offender at, for his or her said second offence, the said fine to be disposed in manner aforesaid.

V. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any such offender so convicted of a second offence contrary to this act in manner aforesaid, shall at any time again commi

the like offence contrary to this act, then any two justices of the peace, and chief magistrate, as aforesaid, respectively, shall commit every such offender to the gaol, or house of correction, there to remain without bail or mainprize until the next general quarter sessions, assizes, gaol delivery, great sessions, or sitting of any commission of Oyer and Terminer in the respective county limit, division or liberty which shall first happen; (2) when and where every such offender shall be proceeded against by indictment for such offence, and shall forthwith be arraigned upon such indictment, and shall then plead the general issue of not guilty, and give any special matter in evidence, or confess the indictment: (3) and if such offender proceeded against, shall be lawfully convicted of such offence, either by confession or verdict, or if such offender shall refuse to plead the general issue, or to confess the indictment, then the respective justices of the peace at their general quarter sessions, judges of assize and gaol delivery, at the assizes and gaol delivery, justices of the great sessions at the great sessions, and commissioners of Oyer and Terminer at their sitting, are hereby enabled and required to cause judgment to be entered against such offender, that such offender shall be transported beyond the seas to any of his majesty's foreign plantations (Virginia and New England only expected) there to remain seven

years: (4) and shall forthwith under their hands and seals make out warrants to the sheriff or sheriffs of the same county where such conviction or refusal to plead or to confess, as aforesaid, shall be, safely to convey such offender to some port or haven nearest or most commodious to be appointed by them respectively; and from thence to embark such offender to be safely transported to any of his majesty's plantations beyond the seas, as shall be also by them respectively appointed (Virginia and New England only excepted:) (5) whereupon the said sheriff shall safely convey and embark, or cause to be embarked such offender, to be transported, as aforesaid, under pain of forfeiting for default of so transporting every such offender, the sum of forty pounds of lawful money, the one moiety thereof to the king, and the other moiety to him or them that shall sue for the same in any of the king's courts of record, by bill, plaint, action of debt, or information; in any of which no wager of law, essoign or protection shall be admitted: (6) and the said respective court shall then also make out warrants to the several constables, headboroughs, or tithingmen of the respective places where the estate real or personal of such offender so to be transported shall happen to be, commanding them thereby to sequester into their hands the profits of the lands, and to distrain and sell the goods of the

offender so to be transported, for the reimbursing of the said sheriff all such reasonable charges as he shall be at, and shall be allowed him by the said respective court for such conveying, or embarking of such offender so to be transported, rendering to the party, or his or her assigns, the overplus of the same, if any be, unless such offender, or some other on the behalf of such offender so to be transported, shall give the sheriff such security as he shall approve of, for the paying all the said charges unto him.

VI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that in default of defraying such charges by the parties to be transported, or some other in their behalf; or in default of security given to the sheriff, as aforesaid, it shall and may be lawful for every such sheriff to contract with any master of a ship, merchant, or other person, for the transporting of such offender at the best rate he can: (2) and that in every such case it shall and may be lawful for such persons so contracting with any sheriff for transporting such offender, as aforesaid, to detain and employ every such offender so by them transported, as a labourer to them or their assigns, for the space of five years, to all intents and purposes, as if he or she were bound by indentures to such person for that purpose: (3) and that the respective sheriffs shall be allowed or paid from the king, upon their respective.

account in the exchequer, all such charges by them expended, for conveying, embarking and transporting of such persons, which shall be allowed by the said respective courts from whence they received their respective warrants, and which shall not have been by any of the ways aforementioned paid, secured, or reimbursed unto them, as aforesaid

VII. Provided always, and be it further enacted, that in case the offender so indicted and convicted for the said third offence, shall pay into the hands of the register or clerk of the court or sessions where he shall be convicted (before the said court or sessions shall be ended) the sum of one hundred pounds, that then the said offender shall be discharged from imprisonment and transportation, and the judgment for the same.

VIII. And be it further enacted, that the like imprisonment, indictment, arraignment and proceedings shall be against every such offender, as often as he shall again offend after such third offence; nevertheless is dischargeable and discharged, by the payment of the like sum as was paid by such offender for his or her said offence next before committed, together with the additional and increased sum of one hundred pounds more upon every new offence committed; (2) the said respective sums to be paid as aforesaid, and to be disposed as followeth,

viz. the one moiety for the repair of the parish church or churches, chapel or chapels of such parish within which such conventicle, assembly, or meeting shall be held: and the other moiety to the repair of the highways of the said parish or parishes (if need require) or otherwise for the amendment of such highways as the justices of peace at their respective quarter sessions shall direct and appoint. (3) And if any constable, headborough or tithingman, shall neglect to execute any the said warrants made unto them for sequestering, distraining, and selling any of the goods and chattels of any offender against this act; for the levying such sums of money as shall be imposed for the first or second offence, he shall forfeit for every such neglect, the sum of five pounds of lawful money of England, the one moiety thereof to the king, and the other moiety to him that shall sue for the same in any of the king's courts of record, as is aforesaid. (4) And if any person be at any time sued for putting in execution any of the powers contained in this act, such person shall and may plead the general issue, and give the special matter in evidence; (5) And if the plaintiff be nonsuited, or a verdict pass for the defendant thereupon, or if the plaintiff discontinue his action, or if upon demurrer, judgment be given for the

defendant, every such defendant shall have his or their treble costs.

IX. And be it further enacted, that if any person against whom judgment of transportation shall be given in manner aforesaid, shall make escape before transportation, or being transported as aforesaid, shall return unto this realm of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, without the special licence of his majesty, his heirs and successors, in that behalf first had and obtained, that the party so escaping or returning, shall be adjudged a felon, and shall suffer death as in case of felony, without benefit of clergy, (2) and shall forfeit and lose to his majesty all his or her goods and chattels for ever; and shall further lose to his majesty all his or her lands, tenements and hereditaments for and during the life only of such offender, and no longer: and that the wife of any such offender by force of this act, shall not lose her dower, nor shall any corruption of blood grow; or be by reason of any such offence mentioned in this act; but that the heir of every such offender, by force of this act, shall and may after the death of such offender, have and enjoy the lands, tenements and hereditaments of such offenders, as if this act had not been made.

X. And for better preventing of the mischiefs which may grow by such seditious and

tumultuous meetings, under pretence of religious worship, (2) Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the lieutenants or deputy lieutenants, or any commissioned officers of the militia, or any other of his majesty's forces, with such troops or companies of horse or foot; and also [the sheriffs and justices of peace, and other magistrates and ministers of justice, or any of them jointly or severally, within any the counties or places within this kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, with such other assistance as they shall think meet, or can get in readiness with the soonest, on certificate made to them respectively under the hand and seal of any one justice of the peace, or chief magistrate, as aforesaid, of his particular information or knowledge of such unlawful meetings or conventicles held or to be held in their respective counties or places, and that he (with such assistance as he can get together, is not able to suppress or dissolve the same) shall and may, and are hereby required and enjoined to repair unto the place where they are so held, or to be held, and by the best means they can, to dissolve and dissipate or prevent all such unlawful meetings, and take into their custody such of those persons so unlawfully assembled as they shall judge to be leaders and seducers of the rest, and such

others as they shall think fit to be proceeded against according to law for such their offences.

XI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every person who shall wittingly and willingly suffer any such conventicle, unlawful assembly, or meeting aforesaid, to be held in his or her house, outhouse, barn or room, yard or backside, woods or grounds, shall incur the same penalties and forfeitures as any other offender against this act ought to incur, and be proceeded against in all points, in such manner as any other offender against this act ought to be proceeded against.

XII. Provided also, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any keeper of any gaol or house of correction, shall suffer any person committed to his custody for any offence against this act, to go at large, contrary to the warrant of his commitment according to this act, or shall permit any person committed to his custody by virtue of this act, in the exercise of religion differing from the rites of the church of England, then every such keeper of a gaol, or house of correction, shall for every such offence forfeit the sum of ten pounds, to be levied, raised, and disposed by such persons, and in such manner as the penalties for the first and second offences against this act are to be levied, raised and disposed.

XIII. Provided always, that no person shall

be punished for any offence against this act, unless such offenders be prosecuted for the same within three months after the offence committed: (2) and that no person who shall be punished for any offence by virtue of this act, shall be punished for the same offence by virtue of any other act or law whatsoever.

XIV. Provided also, and be it enacted, that judgment of transportation shall not be given against any femme coverte, unless her husband be at the same time under the like judgment, and not discharged by the payment of money as aforesaid; but that instead thereof, she shall by the respective court be committed to the jail or house of correction, there to remain without bail or mainprize, for any time not exceeding twelve months, unless her husband shall pay down such sum, not exceeding forty pounds, to redeem her from imprisonment, as shall be imposed by the said court, the said sum to be disposed by such persons, and in such manner, as the penalties, for the first and second offence against this act are to be disposed.

XV. Provided also, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the justices of the peace, and chief magistrate respectively empowered as aforesaid to put this act in execution, shall and may, with what aid, force, and assistance they shall think fit, for the better execution of this act, after refusal or denial, enter into

any house, or other place, where they shall be informed any such conventicle as aforesaid, is or shall be held.

XVI. Provided, that no dwelling-house of any peer of this realm, whilst he or his wife shall be there resident, shall be searched by virtue of this act, but by immediate warrant from his majesty under his sign manual, or in the presence of the lieutenant, or one of the deputy-lieutenants, or two justices of the peace, whereof one to be of the quorum of the same county or riding: (2) nor shall any other dwelling-house of any peer or other person whatsoever, be entered into with force by virtue of this act, but in the presence of one justice of the peace, or chief magistrate respectively, except within the city of London, where it shall be lawful for any such other dwelling-house to be entered into as aforesaid in the presence of one justice of the peace, alderman, deputy-alderman, or any one commissioner for the lieutenancy for the city of London.

XVII. Provided also, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no person shall by virtue of this act be committed to the house of correction, that shall satisfy the said justices of the peace, or chief magistrate respectively, that he or she (and in case of a femme coverte, that her husband) hath an estate of freehold, or copyhold, to the value of five pounds per an-

num, or personal estate to the value of fifty pounds; any thing in this act to the contrary notwithstanding.

XVIII. And in regard a certain sect called Quakers, and other sectaries, are found not only to offend in the matters provided against by this act, but also obstruct the proceedings of justice by their obstinate refusal to take oaths lawfully tendered unto them in the ordinary course of law; (2) Therefore be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person or persons being duly and legally served with process or other summons, to appear in any court of record, except court-leets, as a witness, or returned to serve on any jury, or ordered to be examined upon interrogatories, or being present in court shall refuse to take any judicial oath legally tendered to him by the judge or judges of the same court, having no legal plea to justify or excuse the refusal of the same oath; (3) Or if any person or persons being duly served with process, to answer any bill exhibited against him or them in any court of equity, or any suit in any court ecclesiastical, shall refuse to answer such bill or suit upon his or their corporal oath, in cases where the law requires such answer to be put in upon oath; or being summoned to be a witness in any such court, or ordered to be examined upon interrogatories, shall for any cause or

reason, not allowed by law, refuse to take such oath, as in such cases is required by law ; (4) that then, and in such case, the several and respective courts wherein such refusal shall be made, shall be, and are hereby enabled to record, enter, or register such refusal, which record or entry shall be, and is hereby made a conviction of such offence ; (5) and all and every person and persons so as aforesaid offending, shall for every such offence incur the judgment and punishment of transportation in such manner as is appointed by this act for other offences.

XIX. Provided always, that if any the person or persons aforesaid shall come into such court, and take his or their oath in these words :

I do swear, that I do not hold the taking of an oath to be unlawful, nor refuse to take an oath on that account.

XX. Which oath the respective court or courts aforesaid, are hereby authorized and required forthwith to tender, administer, and register before the entry of the conviction aforesaid, (2) or shall take such oath before some justice of the peace, who is hereby authorized and required to administer the same, to be returned into such court, (3) such oath so made shall acquit him or them from such pun-

ishment; any thing herein to the contrary notwithstanding.

XXI. Provided always, that every person convicted as aforesaid in any courts aforesaid, (other than his majesty's court of king's bench, or before the justices of assize, or general jail delivery) shall by warrant containing a certificate of such conviction under the hand and seal of the respective judge or judges before whom such conviction shall be had, be sent to some one of his majesty's jails, in the same county where such conviction was had, there to remain without bail or mainprize until the next assizes, or general jail delivery, (2) where, if such person so convicted shall refuse to take the oath aforesaid, being tendered unto him by the justice or justices of assize, or jail delivery, then such justice or justices shall cause judgment of transportation to be executed in such manner as judgment of transportation by this act is to be executed: but in case such person shall take the said oath, then he shall thereupon be discharged.

XXII. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any peer of this realm shall offend against this act, he shall pay ten pounds for the first offence, and twenty pounds for the second offence, to be levied upon his goods and chattels by warrant from any two justices of the peace, or chief magis-

trate of the place or division where such peer shall dwell; (2) and that every peer for the third, and every further offence against the tenour of this act, shall be tried by his peers, and not otherwise.

XXIII. Provided also, and be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that this act shall continue in force for three years after the end of this present session of parliament; and from thence forward to the end of the next session of parliament after the said three years, and no longer.

A learned man in London, of what persuasion I know not, published a little book in relation to this act, wherein he shewed from the laws of England, the absurdity of it: since all religious acts, exercised by six persons, not according to the formality of the church of England, were forbidden; and that at this rate it might be reckoned a transgression, if a woman being in travail, and in danger of life, one of the company said a prayer; or if any one spoke something to comfort the near relations of a deceased person; or prayed for the health or happiness of a young married couple, &c. by which it might happen, that some by the malice of their enemies, might not only incur imprisonment for three months, but also by virtue of the act of banishment, might be con-

demned to transportation. That this was not without danger, did appear sufficiently by what judge Orlando Bridgman said at Hertford to the jury, viz, " You are not to expect a plain punctual evidence against them for any thing they said or did at their meeting ; for they may speak to one another, though not with or by articular sound, but by a cast of the eye, or a motion of the head or foot, or gesture of the body. So that if you find or believe in your hearts that they were in the meeting under colour of religion in their way, though they sat still only and looked upon each other, it was an unlawful meeting." At this rate the jury-men, who ought to be impartial judges, or mediators, were swayed, so that without fear they might find the Quakers that were met together guilty of transgressing the law,

Now since at that time they were resolved to banish the Quakers, so called, George Whitehead published a little book, in which he shewed the unreasonableness of the persecutors, and he also strengthened his friends with solid arguments against the charge of stiffneckedness, answering some specious objections ; amongst the rest, " That the Quakers might keep small meetings, and so not fall under the lash of the law ; for if they did not meet above five in number, they kept within the reach of the law : and by keeping private meetings they might al-

so acquit their consciences before God." But to this G. Whitehead answered. "That it might have been objected to the prophet Daniel, that he might have prayed secretly, and not with open windows, and thrice a day, after king Darius had signed the decree, that whosoever should ask a petition of any God or man for thirty days, save of the king, he should be cast into the den of lions; but that Daniel, notwithstanding this decree, had continued to pray to God as before." "Since then," said G. Whitehead, "our meetings are kept in obedience to the Lord God, and according to the freedom he hath given us, we may not leave off our testimony for God in that case; but must be faithful to him, whatever we suffer on that account, for neither the threatenings of men, nor their severity nor cruelty acted against us, how far soever it may be extended, can make us forsake the Lord in not keeping our assemblies, or be ashamed of Christ before men, lest hereafter he be ashamed of us before his Father which is in heaven." Besides he shewed, "How unreasonable it was to incite the jury on an ill-grounded suspicion, without leaving them the liberty of their own judgment: and the judges he shewed their duty from the law, and Magna Charta. He also shewed how unequal it was, that soldiers, who abused his friends in their meetings, should be called as witnesses against them;

and that they should be locked up with thieves and felons, since this was contrary to the right of a free-born Englishman." But this representation of G. Whitehead was slighted, since they were resolved to go on with banishing the Quakers, and to transport them to the West Indies: which however, according to the ancient laws might not be done to a free-born Englishman against his mind. Josiah Coale about this time gave forth also a paper, being a warning to the king and both houses of parliament, to dissuade them from persecution. But this did not avail, for persecution went on.

In the month called August, eight of those called Quakers, viz. Francis Prior, Nicholas Lucas, Henry Feast, Henry Marshal, Jeremiah Hern, Thomas Wood, John Blendale, and Samuel Trahern, were tried at Hertford before judge Orlando Bridgman, already mentioned. The indictment contained, that they had been at an unlawful meeting, under colour and pretence of religion: and the witnesses declared, that they had met together above the number of five; and were taken at such times, and such places; for they must have transgressed thrice before they could legally be condemned to banishment: but the witnesses declared also, that they neither heard them speak any words, nor saw them do any thing at their meeting but sit still. The indictment having been delivered to the grand

jury, they could not agree in their verdict ; for there were some amongst them whose consciences would not give them leave to be accessory to this work of persecution : and therefore they brought in their verdict, *ignoramus*. Now though such a verdict as this ought not to have been rejected, yet judge Bridgman standing up and seeming to be angry, spoke to the jury after this manner ; “ My masters, what do you mean to do ? Will you make a nose of wax of the law ? and suffer the law to be baffled ? Those that think to deceive the law, the law will deceive them. Why do ye not find the bill ? To which one of the jury said, that it concerned them to be wary, and well satisfied in what they did, for they were upon mens lives for aught they knew. No said the judge, “ I desire not their lives, but their reformation : ” and then he gave the jury some directions, and he so coloured the matter, that they going out again, soon returned, and found the bill.

Then four of the prisoners were called to the bar, their indictment read, and they asked, guilty, or not guilty ? To which they answered, “ Not guilty, and that they had transgressed no just law.” But, said the judge, “ Ye have transgressed this law, (having the act in his hand) and ye have been twice convicted on record already, and if ye are found guilty by the jury this time, I must pass sentence of transport-

ation upon you. Now therefore ye shall see that we do not desire to strain the law to the highest severity; neither do I believe that it was the aim of the law-makers, to be severe, but for conforming. If ye will promise that ye will not go, or be at any more such meetings, I will shew you this favour as to acquit you for what is past: this favour ye may receive before the jury is charged with you; but afterwards I cannot do it. And know also, if the jury for want of punctual evidence, should not find you guilty, yet if ye are taken again, ye will be in the same case that ye are now.. What say you? Will ye promise to meet no more? To this the prisoners answered; they could promise no such thing. Then a jury was called, and the indictment read a second time, containing that the prisoners had been at an unlawful meeting at such a time and place, the first, second and third time, the witnesses being called gave the same evidence as before; and then the judge said thus to the jury: "My masters, the jury, ye hear what evidence the witnesses give; how they took them at such times, at such places, which are places they used to meet in; and that they were above the number of five, besides the persons of the family where they met; and that they are twice convicted already upon record: and this is the third offence, which incurs the sentence of transportation, if ye find them guil-

ty." Then he spoke those words which have been mentioned already, viz. "Ye are not to expect a plain punctual evidence against them for any thing they said or did at their meeting, &c. for dumb men may speak to one another, so as they may understand each other by signs: and they themselves say, that the worship of God is inward, in the spirit, and that they can discern spirits, and know one another in spirit. So that if ye find or believe in your hearts they were in the meeting, under colour of religion in their way, though they sat still only, it was an unlawful meeting; and their use and practice not according to the liturgy of the church of England; for it allows and commands when people meet together in the church, that divine service shall be read, &c. And ye must find the bill; for ye must have respect to the meaning and intent of the law, which the king and parliament have in wisdom and policy made, not only against conventicles, but the words assembly and meeting were added; for we have had late experience of the danger of such meetings under colour of religion; and it is an easy matter at such meetings to conspire and consult mischief. Therefore the wisdom and policy of the king and parliament, lest they should be undermined, have made this law, which is not a law against conscience, for it doth not touch conscience at all, as I confess some other laws

do, which enjoin coming to church, and some other things." This and more judge Bridgman spoke to the jury, to persuade them to bring the prisoners in guilty. And the jury being gone out, within the space of an hour returned, their foreman said, "That Nicholas Lucas, and the other three were guilty."

What the judge had said, that they had late experience of the danger of such meetings under colour of religion was of no force at all; for it never had appeared that the Quakers in religious meetings did any thing else than the performing of their worship, though there were other evidences concerning the fifth monarchy-men; but it was universally known that the Quakers had no part therein, nor joined with them in the least degree. It was also a very absurd saying of the judge, that this law did not touch conscience: for it was merely for conscience-sake that the Quakers frequented not the public service and liturgy of the church of England, and kept religious meetings by themselves. But the jury seemed well satisfied with what the judge had told them; and he having thus obtained his aim, read the prisoners' names, and said to them, "What can ye say for yourselves, that judgment of transportation should not pass, or be given against you?" To which they said, "We are innocent, and have transgressed no just law; if we must have this sentence, we give up our

bodies freely into the hands of the Lord; the will of the Lord be done." Have ye nothing more to say? said the judge. Nothing, but that we are innocent, replied the prisoners, we have wronged no man. Then hearken to your sentence, said the judge: "Ye shall be transported beyond the seas, to the island of Barbadoes, there to remain seven years."

Then Jeremiah Hern and Thomas Wood were called to the bar, and their indictment read, to which they pleaded, Not guilty, but innocent; and Jeremiah said, he was no such person as the act mentioned, for plotting and contriving insurrections. Then the judge interrupting him, said, "You are a forward man, you have an estate;" and so he caused him to be set by: and to Thomas Wood he said, "I hear a good report of you; consider what you do; I am sorry, seeing you have a good report among your neighbours, that you should be found guilty, which I fear you will if you put yourself upon trial: I am willing to shew you favour; and it may be one man may fare the better for another." This reflected on Jeremiah, who, by the malice of one John King, had been falsely represented to the judge. Yet Jeremiah having shewn how he had been wronged, the judge said, they should both partake of his favour, if they would but desire it: and this favour consisted in this, as he himself said, "That he

would wave the proceedings of the court, and give them time till the next assizes, to consider better with themselves. What say you, (thus he continued) will ye have it deferred till the next assizes? For if the jury find the bill, you will be sent to Jamaica; ye must not all go to one place." To this the prisoners returned, "We have transgressed no law of God, nor wronged any man: we leave it to the court; we desire it not." "If you will not desire it," replied the judge, "I cannot, nor will do it."

Then three other prisoners were brought to the bar, among whom was one John Reynolds, who, according to the disposition of the witnesses, had been within a yard of the door of the meeting-place, with his face from it. The judge then said, "God forbid that I should do any thing that is not right and just against my conscience; there is that which is written upon the wall before me, which puts me in mind, that I should not judge for man, but for God." Then turning to the jury, he spoke to them almost after the same manner, as he did concerning the other four prisoners; and to induce them to declare Reynolds (who was taken but not in the meeting) guilty, he spoke thus; "Suppose a man be killed in a house, and nobody saw him killed, but a man is met coming out of the house with a bloody knife in his hand, it is a very probable evidence that he is

guilty of the murder. So though the witnesses do not say that they saw and took him in the meeting, yet they swore he was within a yard of the door with his face from the place where they usually met; and he hath been taken twice already, and convicted upon record. My masters, I leave it to you, go forth." Then a bailiff was called, and charged to provide the jury a room, and to let none speak with them, nor to let them have either bread, drink, or candle, till they brought in their verdict. The jury being gone out, soon agreed, and after they were returned, said, "That four of the five prisoners were guilty, and that the other who stood without the door was not guilty." So he was acquitted; but the other four being brought to the bar, the judge asked them, what they could say why judgment of transportation should not be given against them. Their answer was, "We are innocent, and have not offended any just law of God or man, to deserve that sentence; we leave it to the witness of God in thy or your consciences." Then the judge said, "Ye have offended against this law (having the act before him) which is made by the king and parliament, and executed by us their subordinate ministers: if it be not righteous and just, we must answer for that." One of the prisoners had said before, "If I have transgressed any just law, let me suffer; and if not, he that judgeth for God will

not condemn me." To which the judge returned, "You do well to put me in mind of my duty; pray think of your own." And now he asked the prisoners, "Have you any more to say?" To which they answered, "nothing, but that we are innocent." Then he said, "Hear your sentence: you shall be transported beyond the seas, to the island of Jamaica, being one of his majesty's foreign plantations, there to remain seven years. Now I have this one thing to acquaint you with, that if you, and either of you will pay down here into the court, an hundred pounds before the court riseth, you and every one of you shall be discharged, and clearly acquitted for what is past. And I will shew you this favour, not to discharge the court at this present, but shall adjourn it till afternoon." This was done; and the court being met again, the judge sent to the condemned prisoners to know if they would pay down the hundred pounds; but they answering No, the court was then soon discharged.

Seven of these prisoners not long after were carried on ship-board to be transported to the West Indies; but (which was remarkable) the ship by contrary winds and stormy weather was hindered going to sea. Not only the master, whose name was Thomas May, but also his men grew very uneasy at this: for they believed that Heaven was against them: nay, the sailors

threatened to leave the ship, if the master would not set those prisoners ashore. And he himself, considering how after having lain long in the Downs, and more than once set sail, they were hindered to go on by contrary winds, resolved at length, after having lingered about two months, to set the banished ashore; and so he did, giving them a certificate, of which I have a copy in my custody, that they were not run away, but freely put ashore by him, for which among others he gave these reasons, "That seeing the great adversities they had met with, he concluded from thence, that the hand of God was against him, and that therefore he durst not go off with these prisoners, because he found them to be honest men, who had not deserved banishment. And also that there was a law extant, that no Englishman might be transported against his mind. And that his men refused to proceed on the voyage if he would carry away these people. This certificate he gave under his hand, and so let them go away free; and not long after the ship set sail with a fair wind. I do not find that the banished, who returned home again, were prosecuted on this account: for the sentence against them was executed as far as it could at that time, and they had made no opposition, but had been sufferers.

Persecution in the meanwhile did not cease:

but this did not discourage those called Quakers; they continued valiant, as I have seen in many letters sent about that time to some of my acquaintance. One said in the court of justice, "We are in the service of the Lord, and may not leave it;" and another who was offered to be freed of banishment, if he would pay down an hundred pounds, said, "Though I had an hundred lives to lose, and could redeem them all for an hundred pence, yet I would not do it." But this could not stop the violence of the persecutors; till an heavier hand reached them, as may be related hereafter.

In the months of October and December many were condemned to transportation, and among these several women, whose trials I shall but cursorily speak of: for if I should relate all particulars, the description would far exceed my limits; and therefore I will but touch upon some few things.

On the 18th of October sixteen of those called Quakers were tried at Hick's Hall, in Middlesex, for the third offence, as they called it. The grand jury consulting together about finding the bill of indictment, could not well agree. And the justices giving them a check, one of the jurymen desired to know, by what law they ought to find a bill against any persons, without witnesses to testify the fact committed. To which answer was made by the court, that their

records testified the crime or fact, and that such their record was a sufficient witness without the testimony of any man. And for a proof of this it was further said, "The records in Chancery serve as a sufficient testimony; and if it be so in Chancery, why not here?" The jury having been twice upon this business, were sent up a third time; and Edward Shelton the clerk said he would go up also to help them, and so he did; it having been threatened, that if the jurymen did not find a bill, they should be fined. Nevertheless, at their return they answered, "no verdict". Whereupon the justices finding the jurymen not to answer their ends, took them apart, and examined them one by one, telling them that the only thing they were to look upon was, that they did assemble together above the number of five in company; which according to what they said, their records showed. This made some of the jury comply; but others stood it out, and signified that in conscience they could not consent to what was required of them. But the major part complying with the justices, upon their threatening them, and the others being strongly prest, the bill was by a kind of force accepted at length. But how hard a case this was to some, appeared by the mournful confession of one of the jury, who to ease his conscience published in print a small book, with the title of the wounded

Heart, or, The Juryman's Offences, &c. in which he openly disapproved the fact, to which he had been induced by human fear. The pains had been so great to persuade the jury to bring in a verdict according to the mind of the court, that the clerk, as was reported, said, he had rather have given twenty pounds, than have been so troubled.

The next day the prisoners were brought to the bar, and William Proctor, of Grays-Inn; sat as judge in the court. One Hannah Trigg pleading she was innocent, was asked how old she was; to which she saying, she was not sixteen years old; one of the justices did not hesitate to say, she told a lie; and that he thought the Quakers would not lie. In the meanwhile it appeared, that he only said so by guess to baffle her; for by a certificate of some that were present at her birth (which was divulged in print) it was proved that she being the daughter of Timothy Trigg, was born in London on the 20th of the month called August, 1649; and so was but fifteen years of age, and dealt with against the law; which was the harder, because this maid falling sick, died in prison, after the sentence of banishment had been past upon her: which sentence was now pronounced against twelve persons, among who were four maids; and four married women were condemned to a confinement of eleven months in Bridewell.

The judge in pronouncing the sentences was so disturbed in his mind, that ordering some to be transported to Virginia, and others to Barbadoes, he condemned some also to be sent to Hispaniola; at which the people were not a little surprised, for he made it plainly appear that he did not consider what he said; since Hispaniola was no place in the dominions of the king of England: but he was so confounded, that he also accused the prisoners of having transgressed the laws of the commonwealth, forgetting that England was no more a commonwealth, as it was before the restoration of king Charles II.

On the 15th of October above forty of the prisoners called Quakers were tried before the judges Hide and Keeling. To mention all the exorbitances of this trial, which were not few, I count needless: for as to the questions and answers, and the passing of sentence, the reader may form to himself an idea of it from what hath been said already of the trial at Hertford, &c. A maid being asked, guilty, or not guilty, answered, "I never was taken at any seditious meeting or conventicle in my life." To which the judge said, "But, woman, were not you taken at the Bull and mouth the 21st of August?" She answered, "I am innocent in the sight of God and all good people." That this was true

the judge did not deny, but said, "I believe that, woman, but you have transgressed a law." She replied, "As for the Bull and mouth, I believe I have been there an hundred times, and if the Lord permit me life and liberty, I do not know, but I may go there an hundred times more." The judge then saying, "Woman, will you plead, or no, guilty, or not guilty, or else I must pass sentence upon you." She answered, "The will of the Lord be done, I am innocent." Yet this could not avail her, though judge Hide had said a little before concerning the prisoners, "If they are innocent, then they are not guilty." But she was set by as mute, or *pro confesso*, as to the fact charged against her in the indictment. Others who complained of the unreasonableness of the proceedings, were hectored as impudent: and the jury shewing themselves dissatisfied concerning the witnesses, judge Hide said to them, it was no untruth if a man did mistake in the time, and that his evidence was good though he did not see one in the house: "for" said he "if forty men be in a room, and one is brought out of the room to me, standing at the door, cannot I swear that he was in that room, if I see him come out? You must not make such scruples."

In the meanwhile there were some among the witnesses who did not know the prisoners by face; so that there was reason enough to dis-

prove their testimony. But whatever was objected, the business must go on: for though one of the witnesses declared that the meeting, from which the prisoners had been taken, was peaceable; and though one of the prisoners said, that the law was made against seditious meetings, and that nothing of sedition had been proved against them: yet judge Keeling said, "The act was made to prevent such meetings, because, under colour and pretence of religion, plots and conspiracies might be carried on." And when a prisoner said, that he was at a peaceable godly meeting, and received much comfort there; the judge returned, "That is as much as we desire. You confess you were there; and though it was a peaceable meeting, yet it was an unlawful one." Another of the prisoners who pleaded that the law the court acted by was contrary to Magna Charta, and the ancient fundamental laws of the land, was answered by judge Hide, "If the king and parliament should make a law that two justices without a jury should adjudge a man to death for the third offence as a felon, without benefit of clergy, it would be a good law, and according to Magna Charta, and the law of the land; and we should be bound to execute it." It seems this judge (who not long after was suddenly summoned hence to appear before the divine assizes) was of opinion, that since the

legislative power resided in the king and parliament, all that they resolved and enacted, must pass for good law. But if I should mention all the absurdities I meet with in these proceedings, when should I come to an end? True it is, that sometimes a shew was made of pity: for judge Keeling said to two maids, "We are sorry that such young maids should be thus deluded." But because they would not promise to go to the public church, though they declared themselves ready to assist at divine service, they were deemed as guilty. Another prisoner being asked by Judge Hide, whether he would go to church, answered, "If I have my liberty, I shall go to church." But when it appeared that he did not mean the established or public church, this promise could not save him. One Richard Poulton, a lad of fifteen years of age, who by a certificate shewed, that he was not yet sixteen years old, and therefore no transgressor of the law, was asked, if he would swear he was not sixteen, just as if he could have remembered the time of his birth; to which he answered, that he was not brought up to swearing; and being asked, whether he would promise to go to church; he answered, "He should promise no such thing." Then he was returned to the rest, that were to be sentenced.

This was on the 17th of the aforesaid month; when nineteen persons among whom were some

women, were condemned to banishment, and four married women to twelve months imprisonment in Bridewell. None of the judges it seems had a mind to pronounce sentence, and therefore they left this business to the city-recorder. He then bidding the prisoners to hearken to the judgment of the court, spoke so softly, that he could not well be heard, which made one of the prisoners say, that he ought to speak louder, for they could not hear him. But he continuing to speak softly as before, two or three others of the prisoners told him, they could not tell what he said. To which he answered, he cared not whether they did or no; and then said, "Hearken to your sentence, You and every of you, shall be transported beyond the seas, the men to Barbadoes, and the women to Jamaica, being two of his majesty's plantations, there to remain seven years." Thus the persecutors endeavoured to be rid of the Quakers: but though persecution now was very hot, yet they fainted not, neither were they in want of such vigilant assistants, as both by example and words continually encouraged them to faithfulness; who yet (which was remarkable) were not condemned to banishment, as many others.

Among these was Josiah Coale also, who about this time, as I have been told, was in prison in London; and both by writing, and

by word of mouth, did exhort his fellow-believers to constancy : for (when under confinement) he betook himself to his pen, and recommended to his friends, that they would not forsake their meetings, though they were to undergo great sufferings, since it was God's good pleasure to let their patience be tried. "And," said he, "that these afflictions come upon us is by God's permission : who then shall gainsay him, or endeavour to reason with him about matters of so great a concern, since his way is hid from man." He also signified to them that this was done to try their faith, and that therefore they ought to continue bold, and persevere valiantly. "And though," said he, "great sufferings and afflictions attend us, yet my heart, praised be the Lord, is not troubled, neither hath fear seized me, because I see the intent of the Lord in it." And in one letter he spoke thus : "Friends, this know ; that for the sake of the residue of the seed which is yet ungathered, is my life freely sacrificed into the hand of the Lord ; and ready and willing am I to lay it down for the testimony of God's blessed truth, which he hath given me to bear, if thereunto I am called : for bonds and afflictions attend me daily, and I may say, we are in jeopardy of our lives daily : so let your prayer to God be for me, that I may be kept unto the end, to finish my testimony with joy,

and in all things to bring glory and honour to the name of the Lord, who is over all blessed for ever." This his Christian desire he obtained, as will be said in due place. It was a time of suffering; and those to whose share it fell, continued valiant; whilst others did not neglect to exhort the king and parliament to leave off persecution. Among these was William Bayly, who gave forth a very serious exhortation and warning against persecution to the king and parliament, &c. beginning thus.

For the King and Parliament, &c.

" Friends,

"The God of Heaven hath put it into my heart to write a few words unto you, in the fear and dread of his name, and in the counsel of his own will, concerning the work which ye have taken in hand against him and his people; this is not the end and work for which the Lord God hath permitted you into the places of government and rule, in this nation, (nor the way for you to prosper, nor to prolong your days in the earth) thus to persecute and afflict an innocent and harmless people, who are peaceable, and walk uprightly towards God and man; therein endeavouring, in all things, to keep their consciences void of offence, and who have no helper in the earth but the Lord alone; nei-

ther is their kingdom of this world, but they are verily the children and servants of the most high God, whom he hath gathered from amongst men, and from the kindreds of the earth, to be the first fruits unto him, and to the Lamb in this age; and we are his, and not our own, he hath bought us, and redeemed us unto himself, and to him alone have we committed our innocent cause, and he hath undertaken to plead it for us, with all our adversaries; and no weapon formed against us shall ever prosper, but be broken to pieces.

“Therefore friends, be awakened and open your eyes, and see what a stir and a do here is in this nation; to hale and drag up and down a company of tender, innocent, and harmless people, men and women, and children from their peaceable meetings, who meet together in the fear and tender love of God, without any evil or bad intent toward any; but have goodwill and compassion toward all men, even to the worst of our enemies, as the Lord bears us witness: and these are they that are driven as sheep to the slaughter, and thrown into your noisome jails, and prisons, and houses of correction; by rude and brutish people (your servants) whom you have set on work by your authority, till many of them have (patiently) suffered till death, whose innocent blood will assuredly be required at your hands, (though

they shall not go free of the guilt, who have had the least hand in it, without speedy repentance.) And thus we may see and read, how the disciples of Christ Jesus, are as sheep and lambs in the midst of wolves in this age, and as a lily among thorns, and all this is only for obeying his commands, and for worshipping the everlasting invisible God, in the spirit, and in the truth, according to the Scriptures, the which if ye knew and understood, you would tremble to think what you have done against them, to cause so many of the little ones, which believe in Christ, so grievously to suffer, who said, It were better a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he drowned in the depth of the sea, that should offend one of these little ones, that believe in me: and as true as Christ Jesus suffered, and rose again, and as God liveth, who raised him from the dead, we are some of those his little ones that believe in him, who (in derision and scorn in this age) are called Quakers, as ye might call Moses, the prophets and apostles (in days past) who did quake and tremble at the presence of the Lord, who is the same now as ever he was, though the ungodly know him not, nor his power: and we are of that poor and afflicted people, mentioned Zeph. iii. 12 19. Whose trust is in the name of the Lord, who will undo all that afflicts them."

“But what shall I say unto you ; if ye will not, or cannot believe our faithful testimony (or the testimony of God through us) and the innocency of our cause and sufferings, neither will ye believe, if one should rise from the dead and declare it unto you ; for many tender visitations, and timely warnings, and gentle reprehensions have you had, from the pure spirit of the Lord God, both from his witness in your own consciences, and from his faithful servants and messengers, who have written and declared unto you in his name and power in this your day. And as for my part, who am one of the least of the thousands of Israel, I could willingly have been silent as toward you at this time, but the Lord (whom I serve in my spirit) hath laid it upon me to warn you once more (for whose sakes I have borne a burthen) in the true sight and sense of your sad estate, and of the day of thick darkness, wrath and distress, which is hastening upon you from the Almighty.

“Wherefore be not proud nor rebellious, but hear, and obey the word of the Lord ; for thus saith the Lord God that made heaven and earth, let my innocent people alone, and touch them not any more, as ye have done ; for they are mine, and I have called them, and chosen them, and redeemed them, they are my jewels, which I am making up, they shall shew forth my glory

before men to the whole world; I have anointed them, and I will preserve them and deliver them, and crown them with an everlasting salvation. I will rebuke kings and rulers for their sakes, and distress nations, and dethrone the mighty from their seats that rise up against them, as I have done; and let my everlasting gospel have a free passage in these nations; and do not reproach and afflict my servants and messengers so any more, whom I have chosen and sent to preach and declare the way of life and salvation to the ends of the earth, but bow your ear and your heart unto them and their testimony, that it may be well with you, and prolong your days; for he that blesseth them shall be blessed, and he that curseth them shall be cursed, and every hand shall wither that opposeth them, as hath been, and shall be, henceforth for ever: I the Lord have spoken it.

“ But and if you will not hear, but will still persist, and go on, as ye have done, to oppress my heritage, and harmless people, and make war and opposition against my power and truth, and thus set yourselves and your power against me, the living God, I will bring you down suddenly, to the astonishment of nations, and I will cut your day short, and turn your pleasures into howling and lamentation, and shame and contempt shall cover your memorial as a garment. Thus will I work for the deliver-

ance of my seed, and none shall let it; for the year of my redeemed is come, and the day of vengeance is in my heart, to plead their cause with all flesh.

“Therefore consider your ways, and see what ye are doing, and what the effect of this your work will be; ye are but men, and the children of men, who were but as yesterday; your breath is also in your nostrils, and your life is but a vapour, which will soon vanish away: you labour in the very fire, and bring forth wind, which blows up the flame of that which will consume you, and deprive you of all happiness for ever: O that ye had but hearts to consider it! For the more you strive with the Lord, and oppress his people, the more will they multiply, and grow stronger and stronger; and you shall wax weaker and weaker, and your works shall be your heavy burthen; for life and immortality is risen, and the power of God is stirring in the hearts of thousands, and right understanding (the excellent spirit which was in Daniel) is breaking forth like the lightning (which shines out of the east into the west) in the sight of many people, whereby they know, it is the day of the coming of the Son of man, with power and great glory, that every eye may see him, and they that have pierced him shall mourn bitterly: so, your labour is in vain, and your works for the fire, and your striving with your

Maker to no purpose, as to effect your end and aim. And of these things you have been often forewarned and the Lord hath been very long suffering towards you, in sparing you thus long, and suffering you thus far to act against him and his dear people; and his mercy and forbearance hath been evidently shewed in a large measure unto you, in deferring his heavy judgments thus long, which must have been confessed to be just upon you. And will you thus requite the Lord, by increasing your tasks of oppression upon his tender innocent people? O unwise and ungrateful generation! Hath not God yet shewed you, that you should do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly? But are these your fruits and practices fruits of mercy or justice? Or if there be any tincture or spark of love, or humility in them, let God's witness (the light) in all your consciences, and in people, answer. I tell you plainly, that such fruits and doing among you, that profess yourselves Christians, have made the very name of Christ and Christianity, a proverb of reproach through nations, and have caused the God of heaven to be blasphemed; and how could it be otherwise, seeing you who profess the most knowledge of God, and have talked of converting the heathen (as some of your leaders have done) are found the least in the life and fruits thereof: but to what would they convert them? to pride and swear-

ing, and drunkenness, and oppression, and all manner of excess, and to persecute people for their good conscience? They have no need of that; for, some of them have said, they did not use to swear, and be drunk, &c. till they came among the Christians, and learned of them, they did not do so in their own country: ye are so far from converting them, being out of the life of what ye profess and talk of yourselves, that the very heathen or infidels (as ye call them) do judge and condemn you (who are making enquiry) concerning these your proceedings against this harmless people, among whom some of them have been kindly entreated, who visited them at the Lord's requiring, though contrary in opinion and religion: and this doth rise up in judgment against you.

“But, friends, have not you yourselves been under suffering, and some of you been driven into strange countries, or lands, for your cause, (as it was called?) Nay, did not the king himself once flee for refuge to a tree, to save himself from his enemies hands? If not, why are there such representations made of it, in so many places in the nation? And was not this as great a mercy and deliverance from God, so to obscure and preserve him, from them who pursued him (and many of you also?) And are these things forgotten? Can mercy be loved, except it be remembered? And do you remem-

ber and love his mercies, by doing justly, and walking humbly with him, as he doth require? Or do you boast in a vain glory, as if your own arm had done it, or your own strength or deserts, had delivered you? If so, then God must needs be forgotten, and his mercies trodden under foot, and his visitations and counsels cast behind your back; and so, all that forget God, shall be torn in pieces, and there shall be none to deliver them, as it is written.

“And were these your sufferings (which you sustained by them ye opposed) unjust and unequal? And if you should say, they were; then I say, it is much more unjust and very unequal in the sight of God, and all sober people that fear him) for you, thus to inflict such cruel sufferings, as imprisoning, and stifling up to death in your noisome jails and holes among thieves and murderers, and to pronounce sentence of banishment upon an innocent, harmless, peaceable people, that do not oppose you in the least, with any outward force, neither do so much as the thoughts of it lodge within our breasts, as the Lord God knoweth (who hath called us to peace) but on the contrary have sought and do seek your welfare and happiness, both in this world, and in the world to come, which in time shall be manifest to the whole earth.

“And if you say, your sufferings were un-

just and unequal (though you did oppose them, and make war against them so long as you could) because they deprived you of your rights and privileges, and just liberties, and natural birth-rights, &c. which were your due to enjoy, as being free-born of the nation: then how much more is it unjust, and unequal, and unrighteous, thus to inflict sufferings upon your friends, and oppress your peaceable neighbours, who are free-born people of the same nation, and do not oppose you, but are tender towards you, (as aforesaid) and subject to all wholesome just laws, and tributary to you, for which causes we ought to have our just liberty, and enjoy the privilege of our birth-right, which is our due (so long as we live peaceably and harmlessly) but if it be not a privilege to be pleaded for, then are all your own grounds and reasons, and cause, without a foundation, and you and the whole nation may be swept away by any that are able to do it, without being charged with injustice or oppression, which is contrary to the just balance, (the light of Christ) in all people's consciences. And as we are the dearly beloved people of the most high God, who doth bless us with his presence, and manifest his everlasting love and good-will towards us daily, and overshadows us with his power and tender mercies, whom he hath gathered out of the evil ways and spirit of this world, and all the vanities thereof,

unto himself, to walk with him who is invisible, in the upright, blameless, undefiled life, in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation; I say, considering these things, how greatly and unrighteously do our sufferings appear to all sober people, whose eyes are open, and will be more open to discern and savour the bitterness of that proud, envious, wrathful spirit, which thus hath acted and deceived you; and its end is numbered by them that have wisdom from above.

“For friends, set aside the reproachful name of Quakers, and the other titles of derision and scorn, (which the envious and blood thirsty spirit hath invented to render the people of God odious in all ages) and tell me what ye have justly to charge against this people, (whom you so furiously pursue to the dens and caves of the earth, to the loss of the lives of so many of them; by which children are made fatherless, and tender hearted women, mournful widows,) and let it come forth to open view, and declare it abroad (as your articles against them) to the whole world, and speak the truth, and nothing but the truth, (as you use to tell one another) that all people may rightly know and understand the very ground and most secret cause (who do enquire) of these your present proceedings against them; for notice is taken by many, and ere long it must be manifest to all men, as the

folly and madness of Jannes and Jambres was, that withstood Moses ; for you withstand no less than him of whom Moses wrote : who said, " I am the light of the world," against whom Saul was once exceedingly mad, and had thoughts to do very much against that way, which was then as well as now, called Heresy, till the light of Jesus, whom he persecuted, met with him, with his letters (or warrants) to hale men and women to prison (as your servants do,) and smote him to the ground, and made him tremble, who (from that time) became such a Quaker as you now persecute and imprison till death : but the light of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, will meet with all persecutors, and oppressors about religion, let them be never so mad, or think they ought to do much against that way they call Heresy ; as some of you have said, who have made a mock at the light, even publicly, which many took notice of, and even marvelled at such blasphemy (in an open court) against the Saviour of the world : and there is no other name under heaven whereby men shall be saved, but he who said, John vii. 7. 12. and 16. " I am the light of the world, who lighteth every man that cometh into the world."

" And this is he in whom we have believed, and of whom we have declared, and must declare and bear testimony to as long as we have a being, and the world shall know that our testimony is

true; and for his name and truth only, do we thus patiently suffer the contradictions of sinners, as our brethren did by the zealous Jews in ages past; but you are not so zealous for Christ's law and commandments, as they were for Moses and the prophets (which Christ ends and fulfils;) who thought it was not lawful to do good on the sabbath day, (as to heal the sick) for then would you "Do to all men, as ye would they should do to you;" for his law runs thus, "And be ye merciful," &c. and "Love you your enemies; and swear not at all," &c. as ye may read.

"But behold, how both Jews and Gentiles take notice, and are ashamed and grieved, to hear and see what a deal of bad works you do, even on your sabbath day (as some of you call it) and how you profane the day of your worship, with your cattle, and servants, (which are within your gates) what riding and running, and toiling in rage and fury, (like madmen) sweating, and swearing, and cursing and dragging, and hailing the innocent members of Christ's body, out of their peaceable meetings, into your jails and holes, on your day of worship. But are your sacrifices (ye offer at that time) accepted? Have ye peace whilst these things are acting in your name, and by your authority? If you have peace and pleasure therein, let me tell you from the righteous God, you are hardened in your

sins against him, and he will break your peace speedily, and turn your pleasure into bitterness and lamentation; and his innocent people's meetings shall stand, and be increased; and their way shall prosper, and the truth shall spread and prevail, and have dominion over all nations; and their enemies shall fall and be confounded, let them strive what they can against them; for they are of God (and not of man, or the will of man) and they seek his glory and not their own; and such as abide faithful to him, shall triumph over all the principalities, and powers of the rulers of the darkness of this world, and make a shew openly of the victory over all that do or may oppose them; for their life is immortal, and the Lord of heaven and earth is their strength, who is with them as a mighty terrible one; therefore shall their persecutors fall before them.

“And let me tell you again, that by these your unreasonable, and unjust dealings, the understandings of thousands are the more opened; and the tender sober part, or principle in them, doth feel the weight and burthen of this grievousness, which you have prescribed, and do so eagerly pursue, to the imprisoning to death so many innocent persons and freeborn people of this nation, besides hundreds are liable to the same, which yet remain in your prisons. And your unnatural, cruel sentence of banish-

ment, to separate dear and tender husbands from their dear and tender wives, and tender children, and little innocent babes; Oh! How do you rend the bowels of the meek of the earth, whom God hath blessed? What is become of all your promises of liberty for tender consciences? God's curse and vengeance will come upon you, and his plagues will pursue you to destruction if ye proceed in this work; and your wives shall be widows, and your children fatherless; the Lord hath spoken it. If you had the hearts of men, or of flesh, ye would be afraid, and blush at the very thoughts hereof; my heart and soul melt within me, and I am even bowed down with cries to God in my spirit, to think of the hardness of your hearts."

"God Almighty, cut short thy work in righteousness, and shorten the days of oppression and cruelty for thine Elect's sake; which cry night and day unto thee; and make known thy name and power to the ends of the earth; and let the heathen hear, and fear, and bow to thy righteous sceptre; and let the kings of the earth lay down their crowns at the feet of the Lamb, that through thy righteous judgments they may partake of thy tender mercies, which endure for ever; that their eyes may be no longer withholden, nor blinded by the god of this world (the power and prince of darkness)

but that they may come to see thee, who art invisible, and enjoy the same precious life of pure unfeigned love, which abounds in the hearts of thy hidden ones; and receive thy peaceable wisdom, to be governed, and to govern therein; then would they surely know, that we are thine, and confess to thy glorious truth; and speak good of thy name, and magnify thy power, and no longer count the blood of thy everlasting covenant (wherewith we are sanctified) as an unholy thing."

"But thou O righteous, holy, pure, eternal God, art unknown unto all them that sit in darkness, and dwell in the spirit of enmity against thee and thy people; though thou art come near to judgment, according to the promise, Mal. iii. 5, And thy way of life and salvation is hid from them, therefore they hate us without a cause, and thus evilly intreat us in the darkness of their minds, and in the ignorance and hardness of their hearts; for which my soul doth pity them, and even intreat thee for them, that if possible their eyes may yet be opened, and their hearts yet softened, and their spirits humbled, that they may see what they are doing in the dark, and consider the effect of their work, which will assuredly follow: and if thy warnings and gentle visitations will not humble them, then let thy judgments awaken

them, and bring them down, and humble them, that they may perceive something of what thou art doing (in these latter days) and art resolved to do to the ends of the earth, though the whole world should gather and band together to oppose thy work and people; for thou hast begun (and thou wilt go through and perfect) thy work; thou wilt raise thy seed, and gather thy elect from the four winds. and bring them from the ends of the earth, and scatter the proud in the vain imaginations of their hearts; and thou wilt break thy way through all that oppose thee in this the day of thy mighty power, in which thou art arisen (as a giant to run his race) to make an end of sin, and bring in and establish everlasting righteousness; that the kingdoms of this world may become the kingdom of thee and of thy Christ, as thou hast promised, and art now fulfilling; glory, and honour, and thanks, be to thy glorious name, world without end. Amen.

“So friends, ye are and have been warned again by the faithful messengers and servants of the Lord, in love to your souls; and you are left without excuse, if words should never more be mentioned unto you; by which you might perceive, how the Lord did strive with you, that ye might repent, and be saved from the wrath to come, though some of you feel little of it in your own consciences; but his spirit will

not always strive with you: for if you will not believe them, but slight and reject them, and neither make conscience of what hath proceeded out of your own mouth, nor regard to perform your own words and public engagements, in that which is just, which the Lord requireth of you, nor remember his by-past and present mercies, and long suffering towards you, but trample all under foot; I say, if it be thus with you, and you are resolved to go on, you will be wholly given up, and be exceedingly hardened, and grow desperate in cruelty and oppression against God, and his truth and people, till your whole earth is filled with violence: and then (as true as God liveth) will the flood come upon you, and ye shall fall after the manner of Egypt; and the weight of the dreadful judgments, due for all your abominations and cruelties, shall sink you down into the pit that is bottomless, and that suddenly, as the Lord hath spoken,

“By his servant, who is a lover of the
welfare of all your souls, and I am
thus far clear of all your blood,

“William Bayly.”

Written in the tenth month,
1664, at Hertford.

Again in December, twelve of those called Quakers, were condemned to banishment; for was resolved to go on, not regarding what

George Bishop gave forth in print, and caused to be delivered to the king and the members of parliament, being as followeth :

To the King and both Houses of Parliament,
thus saith the Lord.

“ Meddle not with my people, because of their conscience to me, and banish them not out of the nation because of their conscience ; for if ye do, I will send my plagues upon you, and ye shall know that I am the Lord.

Written in obedience to the
Lord, by his servant,

“ George Bishop.”

Bristol, the 25th of the
ninth month, 1664.

The fulfilling of this prediction we shall see ; for within a short time a war ensued with the Dutch, and the pestilence appeared in London ; but before it broke out, yet more of the imprisoned Quakers were condemned to banishment, viz. two and thirty persons, both men and women, who were sentenced by the court on the 6th, 14th, and 15th of December ; for whatever they said in defence of themselves, proved ineffectual. One asked, if we meet really to worship God, must we suffer for that ? And judge Hide answered, “ Yes, that you must.”

But judge Keeling, to mend the matter a little, said, "You shall not suffer for worshipping God, but for being at an unlawful assembly, contrary to the law." Another said, "I meet to worship the eternal God in spirit, as he persuades my heart and conscience; and must I be condemned to banishment for that?" "Yes, yes," said judge Keeling, "for the law is against it." To which judge Twisden added, "He hath confessed that he was there to worship God: and their worship is contrary to the liturgy of the church of England." Thus we see if there were but evidence that the prisoners had been at a meeting, this was counted sufficient to condemn them. A woman being asked, what she had to say to the evidence given, answered, "Be it known unto you all, if I had as many bodies as hairs on my head, I could lay them all down for the living eternal truth of God." After all the prisoners had been called to the bar, they were at length sentenced to be transported to Jamaica, and to remain there seven years.

In this year died my mother Judith Zinspenning at Amsterdam in Holland, where she was born of religious parents among the Baptists, into whose society her father Conrad Zinspenning had entered in a singular manner; of which, though it may seem somewhat out of my road, yet because of the remarkable steps of

Providence appearing therein, I will give a short account. He being of Cologne in Germany, was bred a Papist; and after he had past the Latin schools, his father thrust him into a cloister; (for Papists used to think it meritorious to offer up one of their children to the clergy.) But he found, the monastical life so much against his inclination, that his father dying, before the probation year was expired, he begged his mother to assist him in his intension to leave the fraternity, since he was not yet bound by vow. She complied with his desire, and so he got out, and then was put to a trade. After he had served his time, he resolved to travel, and first took a turn into Holland, from thence to France, and then to Italy, and Rome, its metropolis, and so back again. Having been a lay-friar, he got letters of recommendation to such monasteries as were of the order of those monks he had lived with; that so he might freely find lodging there for some time. And because in Holland there are no cloisters, he was recommended to some eminent Papists at Amsterdam: whither being come, he liked the place so well, that he resolved to stay there some time; which he did, after having found employment. And thus getting into acquaintance, he came in time to live with a Baptist, who employed him as a journeyman. He never till now had met with the New Testament, in

which he began to read so eagerly, that the Lord co-operating by his good spirit, his understanding came to be opened, so that he got a clear sight of the superstition and errors of the popish religion, in which he had been trained up ; and then entering into discourse with his master, was persuaded to renounce popery, and to enter into the communion of the Baptists. This broke all his measures concerning his intended travels ; and then resolving to settle where he was, he took to wife one Katherine de Mol, a virtuous maid, whose father was one of the primitive Baptists that arose under the persecution in Flanders, from whence he with many more came to settle in Holland.

From these parents my mother was descended, who was religiously inclined even from her youth, and became so well versed in the Holy Scriptures ; and was so diligent in writing down so much of the sermons she heard, as she could retain by memory ; that her father said sometimes, It is a pity that this girl is not a boy, who then in time might become an eminent instrument in the church. After she was come to age, though much inclined to lead a single life, yet at length she was married to my father Jacob Williamson Sewel, a very religious young man ; whose father William Sewel, from Kidderminster in Worcestershire, having been one of those Brownists, that left England and

settled in Holland, married a Dutch wife at Utrecht, where my father was born; who being come to age, endeavoured to walk in the narrow way, and conversed mostly with the strictest professors of those days. And both he and my mother came in time to grow dissatisfied with that worship to which they were joined: yet in clearness of understanding my mother exceeded my father; nevertheless she continued dissatisfied, as well as he, with the common way of worship she belonged to; so that oftentimes, when she came from the meeting-house, she resolved not to go there any more, because she reaped no real and substantial benefit by it. But then the first day of the week being come again, she was in a straight, thinking that however it was, yet by the apostle we were exhorted not to forsake the assemblies. In this irresolute condition she continued a long time: and being encumbered with the cares of the family, she was not so much at liberty for performing religious duties, (viz. prayers, reading of, and meditating on the Holy Scriptures, visiting the sick, and such like pious exercises) as she was before she was married; which made her wish sometimes she had never entered into matrimony, and that she might live to enjoy again that peace and quiet which once she had. But she knew not yet that it was the love of the Lord thus work-

ing upon her, to draw her off from transitory things. In this state she was often seized with grief and sorrow, so that she counted herself the most miserable of women; for neither husband nor children, nor any outward enjoyments, could afford her any pleasure; but all her desire was to attain to an undefiled state, in which she might live an unblameable life, not only before men, but also before God: for feeling there was yet something in her which was evil and polluting, she struggled to overcome it; but all her labour proved in vain. This made her cry earnestly to the Lord as one in great danger; and her doubts whether it was possible to attain to perfection increased. But in this forlorn state it pleased the Lord to manifest himself to her in some measure, though she knew not then it was he. And often she cried out, "Lord, what will it avail me to know, that thou hast sent thy Son into the world, and that he was crucified, and died for the sins of the world, if I am not saved by it. Lord forgive my sins, and have mercy upon me." And once when she was alone, pouring out her heart before the Lord, he made himself known to her, and spoke to her soul, that if she would be perfect, she must follow the light in every respect. Having heard this, she desired to know what this light was; and the Lord shewed her, that the light was the

life of men. This she understood in some degree, and so separated herself as much as ever she could conveniently from conversation, endeavouring to live retiredly. And having about this time heard Dr. Galenus Abrahams, an eminent Baptist teacher, preach upon the parable of the seedsman; that which he spoke concerning the good ground, and how the ground must be fitted by the Lord's working, so affected her, that she resolved to rest from all her own labour; and so she left frequenting the Baptists assemblies any more.

In this retired state she continued a good while, and at length came to hear William Ames preach; and he declaring the light of Christ as the true teacher, this agreed with what had already been told her inwardly by the immediate manifestations of the Lord to her. And thus she came fully to be convinced that this was the truth she had so long desired to know. Now she saw that it was her duty to give up all, and to keep nothing back: for she had already seen, that if she would be Christ's disciple, she must forsake all, even her own self. But a fear of the cross was no small impediment to her; yet now she gave up to obedience; and saw that her former performances had been defective; and now all came into remembrance. This caused sorrow; but she prayed to the Lord both night and day, and

then he manifested his power by which she was led out of the darkness, and bondage, wherein she had been held captive; and her supplication was to the Lord, that it might not be with her as formerly, to wit, sometimes great zeal, and then coldness again; but that she might continue in fervency of spirit. After a long time of mourning the Lord manifested his kindness to her, by which she came to be quickened and refreshed; and by the judgments of the Lord all was narrowly searched out; so that nothing could be hid; and a separation was made between the precious and the vile, and death passed over all. But this to part with all her own wisdom, and forsake her great attainments, was no small cross; yet she became willing to bear it, although many violent tempests rose to draw her off, if possible, from closely adhering to the beloved of her soul; yet she was not forward in imitation: for my father, who when he was convinced of the truth preached by W. Ames and W. Caton, soon left off the common way of salutation, would sometimes persuade her by arguments to do so too; but she told him, if the leaving of that custom was a thing the Lord required, she believed he would shew it her in his own time, because she was given up to follow his requirements. And so the Lord did in due time; and she continuing zealously faithful, he was pleased

after my father's death to give her a public testimony, and she became eminently gifted: for her natural abilities surpassing the ordinary qualifications of her sex, and becoming sanctified by the Spirit of the Lord, could not but produce good effects; and she came to be much visited and sought to by professors; and the fifth monarchy men applauded her because of her pathetical admonitions. But she was above flattery, and trampled upon it. Nay, she was so well esteemed, that I remember, having some movings to visit the collegians in their meeting, after one of them had left off speaking, she stood up, and said, that she had something upon her mind to speak to them by way of exhortation. But knowing that they suffered not women to speak amongst them, she was not willing bluntly to intrude herself; but desired their leave, which they readily granted, and one of their chief speakers said to her, "It is true, friend, we do not allow women to speak in the church; yet we bear that respect to you, that we give you the liberty of speaking." And then she cleared herself, having formerly been a frequenter of that assembly. And when she had done speaking, I do not remember that she was contradicted by any; but one of their speakers concluded the meeting with a prayer.

Before that time she wrote and published a small book to those of her former society, which she called a serious Reproof of the Flemish Baptists; in which she dealt very plainly with them; and shewed how they were apostatized. She wrote also some other treatises, extant in print; and was much beloved and well esteemed by English friends, as appears by several letters written to her from England, and yet extant. Those of her own nation often resorted to her for instruction, she being so well exercised in the way of the Lord, that she was able to speak a word in season to various conditions. Many times she visited the meetings at Alkmaar, Haarlem, and Rotterdam; and was often invited by her friends to come and edify them with her gift. She wrote also many letters for edification and admonition to particular persons, and some epistles also to the church. But it pleased the Lord to take her early to himself. When she fell sick, she soon had a sense that she was not likely to recover, and therefore spoke much to me in private, and acquainted me with several things touching myself, and relating to her outward estate. And the night before she departed, she called me to her bed-side, and exhorted me very fervently to depart from evil, and to fear the Lord: which by the mercy of God in time made very deep impression on my mind ;

so that I still find reason to bless the name of the Lord for having been pleased that I was the son of such an excellent mother: who early in the morning when she felt death approaching, called me up out of my bed, and sent me to her brother, and to W. Caton, to come and see her; and I had hardly been returned a quarter of an hour before she departed this life, and slept in peace, to my great grief then; though afterwards, when I came to years of discerning, I saw reason to believe that it was not without a singular providence that the Lord had taken her away: for one had long continued to be an importunate suitor to her, who in time lost his integrity. To give a small instance of her true zeal for God, I will insert here the following epistle she wrote to her friends, to stir up the pure mind in them.

An Epistle to the Friends of Truth.

“ Grace and peace be multiplied among you, my dearly and much beloved friends, you that have received a blessing from God the heavenly Father in Christ Jesus, the Lord of glory; who by his unspeakable love, and his unchangeable light, hath drawn you off from the imaginary worships, and brought you in measure to know him who was from the beginning. Dear friends, keep in the light by

which ye are enlightened, and in the knowledge of God, which every one hath received for himself: watching against the seducings of Satan, that your eyes may be kept open, lest deceit should prevail in any of you, by which truth might lose its splendour, and the brightness of the Lord become darkened.

“ I write these things to you in true love, and though but young, yet as one that takes care for you ; for the Lord knows how often ye are in my remembrance ; desiring for you, that ye may not only know the truth, but that ye may be found to be living witnesses of it : for I, knowing the preciousness of it, cannot but desire that others may also participate of the same : labour therefore for it, my friends, that so, when the Lord comes and calls to an account every one may be found faithful according to what he hath received : for this is the talent which the Lord hath given, viz. the knowledge of him who is true, and who rewardeth every one according to his deeds : but the negligent and slothful servant said that his Lord was an hard man, and that he gathered where he had not strawed, and this was his condemnation : for the Lord said, “ Thou knewest that I was an austere man : wherefore then gavest not thou my money into the bank, that at my coming I might have required mine own with usury ? ” Mind these things, my beloved friends, ye that

have an ear to hear, and dig after this parable in yourselves; for we all have received talents, some more, and others less. Let therefore every one be faithful to the Lord, according to what he hath received; for truly some of you, I believe, have received five talents. Let it but be duly considered and seen in the light of the Lord, what knowledge ye have had of the eternal God beyond many; even when ye were yet in darkness: how often the Lord appeared; and clearly made manifest himself? And how abundantly hath he made it known in the heart, that he it was who was worthy to be feared and served? Certainly this is a great and weighty talent, and therefore the Lord may say justly, what could I have done more to my vineyard? O my friends, besides all this, he hath caused his eternal light to shine into our hearts; whereby we have seen the corrupted ways of the world, and the paths leading to death. This, I say; the Lord hath shewed us by his eternal light: glory and praises be given to our God for ever.

" Dear friends, go on in that in which ye have begun; for I can bear witness for the Lord, that his love hath been abundantly shed abroad upon us, without respect of persons: because those that fear him, and work righteousness, are acceptable to him; and he makes his truth manifest among us, and causes his peace and

mercy to rest upon us. It is true, that Satan doth not rest to scatter this, and to sow doubts and unbelief in our hearts ; but we keeping close to the Lord, are preserved from his snares ; and happy is he who hath found a place where he is freed from tempest : but before this place be found, there are many hidden rocks that may be struck on, not unknown to me. And therefore I have true compassion on those who are not past them all yet : for shipwreck may easily be suffered on any of these.

“ Yet in all this danger there is something on which we may rely safely, and to which we may trust, being as a beacon, viz, the light shining into our hearts, though it be sometimes but as a spark, and so small, in regard of the manifold seducings, that it can hardly be discerned. Here then is no small grief and anguish : here all the mercies of the Lord, which formerly we enjoyed abundantly, are called in question, or doubted of ; here is danger, and yet certainty : for by not sinning, the beacon is minded, and by relying on a true hope to be saved, we are preserved in the tempest. I write these things for the information of those that are travelling towards a city that hath a foundation, and whose builder and maker is God ; for to such my love is extended, and my desire to the Lord for them is, that

they may be kept by his power, to remain standing at his coming.

“ Dear friends, keep your meetings in the fear of the Lord, and have a care that your minds are not drawn out to hear words outwardly ; but stand in the cross to that which desireth refreshment from without : and when at any time ye feel but little refreshment, let it not enter into your hearts that the Lord is not mindful of you ; but center down into yourselves in the pure light, and stand still therein : then it may be ye will find the cause why the presence of the Lord is departed from you for sometime ; and ye putting away the cause, shall enjoy the Lord again to your comfort.

“ May God Almighty preserve you all by his power, lest any strife or discord be found among you ; and may you grow up in love, and thereby be obliged to bear each others burthens ; and let no transitory things cumber your hearts, but be resigned to the Lord ; for that to which we are called, is not to be compared to that which is transitory, or perishing ; since it is a treasure that is everlasting, and to which the world, and all that is in it, is but as dung ; because the most glorious part of it is but vanity of vanities. O, my friends, let none be stopped by that which is an impediment to entering into the kingdom of heaven ; but strive all to enter the narrow gate ; and search

every one of you your own hearts, with the light ye are enlightened with, which shall manifest your own state to you; and keeping there, it shall multiply your peace, and every one shall find therein his own teacher, as those have experienced who sought the Lord with all their heart. Now the God of all mercies, who alone is immortal, keep you and us altogether unto the end; that so in these dangerous times we may remain standing, to the glory of his great name. O friends keep out craftiness, and enter not readily into discourse with those that are out of the truth; for they speak in their own wills, and are crafty, and knowing no bridle to their mind, it produceth that by which the simple and innocent are caught; but stand ye rather, and keep in that wherein ye see their subtilty; for then, though ye may not have a word to apologize for yourselves, yet ye shall be above them.

“This is written from me, a young plant, in love to you, according to the gift received from the Lord. My salutation is to you all in the light of truth.

“Judith Zinspenning.”

In the year 1664 came forth a small book in print, to the king and both houses of parliament, wherein were set forth, not only the violent

persecution almost over all England, with the names of persons, places, and cases, which indeed were woful, and some bloody; but it was also represented, that there were at that time in prison above six hundred of those called Quakers, merely for religion's sake.

In the month called January, in the year 1664, thirty six of that persuasion, among whom were eight women, were condemned to be transported to Jamaica. The jury not being so forward to declare the prisoners guilty as the court desired, were persuaded however by the threatenings of the judge Keeling, the recorder Wild, and the boisterous Richard Brown, to do what was demanded of them.

On the 18th and 22nd of the next month, thirty-four of the said people were sentenced to be carried to Jamaica, and five to Bridewell, The manner of their trials I pass by in silence, to avoid prolixity. Those that were tried on the 18th were sentenced by judge Wharton; and those on the 22nd by judge Windham, who said to Anne Blow, who declared, that the fear of the Lord being upon her heart, she durst not conform to any thing that was unrighteous, "Anne Blow, I would shew you as much favour as the court will allow you, if you will say that you will go no more to that seditious meeting," meaning the Bull-and-Mouth. To which she answered, "Wouldst thou have me sin against

that of God in my own conscience? If I were set at liberty to day, if the Lord required it of me, I should go to the Bull-and-Mouth to-morrow."

Concerning one John Gibson the said judge spoke to the jury in this manner; "Gentlemen, although it is true, as this Gibson saith, that it cannot be proved, that they were doing any evil at the Bull-and-Mouth; yet it was an offence for them to be met there, because in process of time there might be evil done in such meetings; therefore this law was made to prevent them." By this we may see with what specious colours the persecutors cloaked their actions. I find among my papers, a letter of John Furly, and Walter Miers, (both of whom I knew well) mentioning, that some of the jury, for refusing to give such a verdict as was required of them, were fined great sums, and put into prison, there to remain till they should pay the fine.

Having now said thus much of sentencing, it is time to speak of the execution thereof.

Some of the persons ordered for banishment, fell sick, and died in prison; some became apostates, and some were redeemed by their relations that were not Quakers; but yet a considerable number were, though with great pains, brought on ship board, to be transported to the West Indies. We have seen already how those that were sentenced at Hertford, by

judge Orlando Bridgman, having been put ashore by the master of the ship, returned. And it was not long after, that three of their friends, being on board the ship the *Many-fortune* of Bristol, were also set on shore with a certificate from the master of the ship, signed by him and seven of his men, wherein they complained of their adversity, and said, that God had said, as it were in their hearts, "Accursed be the man that separates husband and wife! and he who oppresseth the people of God, many plagues will come upon him."

But the first of those called Quakers, who really tasted banishment, were Edward Brush, and James Harding, who were banished, not only out of London, where they as citizens had as much right to live as the chiefest magistrates, but also out of their native country, contrary to the right of a free born Englishman: these, with one Robert Hays, were on the 24th of the month called March, early in the morning fetched from Newgate in London, and brought to Blackfriars stairs, where they were put into a boat, and so carried down to Gravesend, and there put on board a ship. Hardly any warning had been given to these prisoners; and Robert Hays being sickly had taken some physic, which had not done working; and since it was very cold that morning, and he had got nothing to eat before he came to Gravesend, he

was seized in the ship with such severe sickness, that he died of it, and then his corpse was carried to London, and there buried. The other two were carried to Jamaica, where, by the providence of God, in time it fared well with them, and Edward Brush lived to return into England. It was remarkable, that not long after these persons were banished, the pestilence broke out in London, first of all in the house of a mealman in Bearbinder lane, next door to the house where the said Edward lived, which by some was thought worthy of being taken notice of; since that house was the first which was shut because of the sickness.

With the other prisoners they had more trouble and pains, because no shipmasters could be found that would carry them: wherefore an embargo was laid on all merchantmen, with order that none should go down the river without having a pass from the Admiral; and this they would give to no master going to the West-Indies, unless he made a promise to carry some Quakers along with him to the place to which they were banished. Whatever any masters spoke against this, intimating that there was a law, according to which no Englishman might be carried out of his native country against his mind, was in vain. At length by force they got one to serve their turn; and then seven persons that were sentenced to banishment,

were, on the 18th of the month called April, carried from Newgate to Blackfriars stairs, and so in a boat to Gravesend. But in the meanwhile the pestilence increased, and not long after judge Hyde, who had been very active in persecuting, was with many others suddenly taken away out of this life; for he having been seen in the morning at Westminster in health, as to outward appearance, it was told in the afternoon that he was found dead in his chamber; being thus summoned to appear and give account of his deeds before a higher court than ever he presided in.

Yet transportation was not come to a stand; first, as hath been said, three persons, next seven, and on the 16th of the month called May, eight were carried down the river to Gravesend, and put on shipboard; but as the number of those that were carried away was heightened, so also the number of those that died of the pestilence much more increased. But notwithstanding this scourge from Heaven, transportation continued; for a master of a ship was found at length, who had said, as was reported, that he would not hesitate to transport even his nearest relations. And so an agreement was made with him, that he should take between fifty and sixty Quakers into his ship, and carry them to the West Indies. Of these eight or ten at a time were brought to the water side

and so with boats or barges carried to the ship, which lay at anchor in the Thames, in Bugbey's hole, a little beyond Greenwich. Many of these prisoners, among whom were several women, not shewing themselves ready to climb into the ship, lest it should seem as if they were instrumental to their transportation, were hoisted up with the tackle; and the sailors being unwilling to do this work, and saying, that if they were merchant goods, they should not be unwilling to hoist them in, the officers took hold of the tackle, and said, "They are the king's goods." This was on the 20th of the month called July, and on the 14th of the next month, when, according to the bill of mortality, three thousand and forty died in one week, the rest of the banished prisoners were carried by soldiers to the said ship, in which now were fifty five of the banished Quakers, and among these eighteen women. But something adversely hindered this ship from going away, and the pestilence also entered into it, which took away many of the prisoners, and so freed them from banishment. But though the pestilence grew more hot in London, and a war was risen between England and Holland, yet the fire of persecution continued hot, and great rejoicings were made when the Dutch were beaten at sea, and their admiral Obdam was blown up with his ship. Neither did the persecutors leave off to disturb

the meetings of those called Quakers, and imprison many of them; nay so hardened and unrelenting were some, that when at London more than four thousand people died in one week, they said, "That the only means to stop the pestilence, was to send the Quakers out of the land." But these fainted not, but grew emboldened against violence. In September some meetings were still disturbed in London, though the number of the dead in one week was heightened to above seven thousand, being increased in that time nigh two thousand. Now such as intended to have met at the Bull and Mouth, were kept out from performing worship there; but yet meeting in the street, they were not disturbed; for there seemed to be some fear of the common people, who grew discontented because there was little to be earned by tradesmen; and the city came to be so emptied, that grass grew in the streets that used to be most populous, few people being seen by the way. Thus the city became as a desert, and the misery was so great, that it was believed some died for want of attendance.

It was about this time that Samuel Fisher, who first had been a prisoner at Newgate in London, and afterwards in Southwark, since the beginning of the year 1663, till now, being about a year and a half, died piously.

It is reported that the king in the time of

this great mortality once asked, whether any Quakers died with the plague? And having been told, yes, he seemed to slight that sickness, and to conclude, that then it could not be looked upon as a judgment or plague upon their persecutors. But certainly his chaplains might well have put him in mind of what Solomon saith, "There is one event to the righteous and to the wicked:" and of this saying of Job, "He destroyeth the perfect and the wicked:" as also that of the prophet, "That the righteous is taken away from the evil to come."

Now travelling in the country was stopped, which made some people go with boats along the coast, and so went ashore where they had a mind. Thus did Stephen Crisp, who came about this time to York, where the Duke of York was then; with many of the great ones. About this time Alexander Parker, and George Whitehead came to London, where they had good service in preaching the truth.

Great fires were now kindled in the streets to purify the contagious air; but no relief was found by it; for in the latter end of September, there died in London above eight thousand people in one week, as I remember to have seen in one of the bills of mortality of that time. In the meanwhile the ship in which the banished prisoners were, could not go off, but continued to lie as a gazingstock for those ships that pas-

sed by ; for the master was imprisoned for debt.

Now the prediction of George Bishop was fulfilled, and the plagues of the Lord fell so heavily on the persecutors, that the eagerness to banish the Quakers, and send them away, began to abate. This same G. Bishop, about Midsummer, wrote from the prison at Bristol (where he made account that he also should have been banished) a letter to his friends to exhort them to steadfastness, foretelling them, that if they happened to be banished, God would give them grace in the eyes of those among whom they should be sent, if they continued to adhere to him ; and that when he should have tried them, he would bring them again into their native country ; and that none should root them out ; but they should be planted and built up there ; and that the Lord would visit their enemies with the sword and pestilence, and strike them with terror. This is but a short hint of what he wrote at large.

G. Fox the younger had also in the year 1661 given forth a little book, of which some small mention hath been made before, in which he lamented England, because of the judgments that were coming upon her inhabitants for their wickedness and persecution ; saying among the rest, that the Lord had spoken in him concerning the inhabitants. "The people are too many, the people are too many, I will thin them,

I will thin them." Besides that the Spirit of the Lord had signified unto him. That an overflowing scourge, yea even an exceeding great and terrible judgment, was to come upon the land, and that many in it should fall, and be taken away. And that this decree of the Lord was so firm, that though some of the Lord's children and prophets should appear so as to stand in the gap, yet should not that alter his decree. This with much more he wrote very plainly : and though he was deceased long ago, yet this paper was reprinted, to shew the inhabitants how faithfully they had been warned.

What Isaac Pennington, being a prisoner, wrote about this time to the king and parliament, and published in print was also very remarkable, being designed with Christian meekness to dissuade them if possible from going on with this mischievous work of persecution. In this paper, containing some queries, among many weighty expressions, I find these also.

"After ye have done all ye can, even made laws as strong as ye can, and put them in the strictest course of execution ye can, one night from the Lord may end the controversy, and shew whether we please the Lord in obeying him, or ye in making laws against us for our fidelity and obedience to him.

“ And as the Lord is able to overturn you, so if ye mistake your work, mis-interpreting the passages of his providence, and erring in heart concerning the ground of his former displeasure : and so (through the error of judgment) set yourselves in opposition against him, replanting the plants which he will not have grow, and plucking up the plants of his planting : do ye not in this case provoke the Lord, even to put forth the strength which is in him against you ? We are poor worms. Alas, if ye had only us to deal with, we should be nothing in your hands ! But if his strength stand behind us, we shall prove a very burthensome stone, and ye will hardly be able to remove us out of the place wherein God hath set us, and where he pleaseth to have us disposed of. And happy were it for you, if instead of persecuting us, ye yourselves were drawn to wait for the same begettings of God (which we have felt) out of the earthly nature into his life and nature, and did learn of him to govern in that ; then might ye be established indeed, and be freed from the danger of those shakings and overturnings, which God is hastening upon the earth.

Now because ye may be apt to think, that I write these things for my own sake, and the sake of my friends and companions in the truth of God, that we might escape the sufferings and severity which we are like to undergo from

you, and not so mainly and chiefly for your sakes, lest ye should bring the wrath of God and misery upon your souls and bodies: to prevent this mistake in you, I shall add what followeth. Indeed this is not the intent of my heart: for I have long expected, and do still expect this cup of outward affliction and persecution from you, and my heart is quieted and satisfied therein, knowing that the Lord will bring glory to his name, and good to us out of it: but I am sure it is not good for you to afflict us for that which the Lord requireth of us, and wherein he accepteth us: and ye will find it the bitterest work that ever ye went about, and in the end will wish that the Lord had rather never given you this day of prosperity, than that he should suffer you thus to make use of it. Now that ye may the more clearly see the temper of my spirit, and how my heart stands in this thing, I shall a little open unto you my faith and hope about it, in these ensuing particulars.

First, "I am assured in my heart and soul, that this despised people (called Quakers) is of the Lord's begetting in his own life and nature.

Indeed had I not seen the power of God in them, and received from the Lord an unquestionable testimony concerning them, I had never looked towards them: for they were otherwise very despicable in my eyes. And this I cannot

but testify concerning them, that I have found the life of God in me owning them, and that which God hath begotten in my heart, refreshed by the power of life in them: and none but the Lord knows the beauty and excellency of glory which he hath hid under this appearance.

Secondly, "The Lord hath hitherto preserved them against great oppositions, and is still able to preserve them. Every power hitherto hath made nothing of over-running them: yet they have hitherto stood, by the care and tender mercy of the Lord; and the several powers which have persecuted them have fallen one after another.

Thirdly, "I have had experience in myself of the Lord's goodness and preservation of me in my suffering with them for the testimony of his truth, who made my bonds pleasant to me, and my noisome prison (enough to have destroyed my weakly and tenderly educated nature) a place of pleasure and delight; where I was comforted by my God night and day, and filled with prayers for his people, as also with love to, and prayers for, those who had been the means of outwardly afflicting me, and others upon the Lord's account.

Fourthly, "I have no doubt in my heart that the Lord will deliver us. The strength of man, the resolution of man is nothing in my eye in comparison of the Lord. Whom the Lord loveth,

he can save at his pleasure. Hath he begun to break our bonds and deliver us, and shall we now distrust him? Are we in a worse condition than Israel was when the sea was before them, the mountains on each side, and the Egyptians behind pursuing them? He indeed that looketh with man's eye, can see no ground of hope, nor hardly a possibility of deliverance; but (to the eye of faith) it is now nearer than when God began at first to deliver.

Fifthly, "It is the delight of the Lord, and his glory to deliver his people, when to the eye of sense, it seemeth himpossible. Then doth the Lord delight to stretch forth his arm, when none else can help: and then doth it please him to deal with the enemies of his truth and people, when they are lifted up above the fear of him, and are ready to say in their hearts concerning them, they are now in our hands, who can deliver them?

"Well, were it not in love to you, and in pity, (in relation to what will certainly befall you, if you go on in this course) I could say in the joy of my heart, and in the sense of the good will of my God-to us, who suffereth these things to pass, go on, try it out with the Spirit of the Lord, come forth with your laws and prisons, and spoiling of our goods, and banishment, and death (if the Lord please) and see if ye can carry it: for we come not forth against you in our own

wills, or in any enmity against your persons or government, or in any stubbornness or refractoriness of spirit; but with the lamb-like nature which the Lord our God hath begotten in us, which is taught and enabled by him, both to do his will, and to suffer for his name-sake. And if we cannot thus overcome you (even in patience of spirit, and in love to you) and if the Lord our God please not to appear for us, we are content to be overcome by you. So the will of the Lord be done saith my soul."

This the author concludes with a postscript containing a serious exhortation to forsake evil. Besides this he gave forth another paper, wherein he proposed this question to the king and both houses of parliament.

"Whether laws made by man, in equity, ought to extend any further, than there is power in man to obey. And if it were not cruel to require obedience in such cases, wherein the party hath not a capacity in him of obeying." And to explain this a little further, he said, "In things concerning the worship of God, wherein a man is limited by God, both what worship he shall perform, and what worship he shall abstain from, he is not at liberty to obey what laws shall be made by man contrary hereunto." Thus Pennington strove by writing, to shew the per-

secutors the evil of their doings; but a fierce party prevailed then; and the clergy continually blew the fire of persecution; yea, many presumed that the time was now come totally to destroy the Quakers; and in December twelve more were condemned to transportation.

Concerning those banished that were now in the ship which lay in the Thames, I will yet leave them there, and take a view of George Fox whom in the foregoing year we left in a hard prison at Lancaster. In the month called March this year he was brought to his trial before judge Twisden; and though judge Turner had given charge at the assizes before, to see no such gross errors were in the indictment as before, yet in that respect this was not much better than the former, though the judge examined it himself. The jury then being called to be sworn, and three officers of the court having deposed, that the oath had been tendered to him at the last assizes, according to the indictment, the judge said, it was not done in a corner: and then asked him, what he had to say to it? And whether he had taken the oath at the last assizes? George Fox thereupon gave an account of what had been done then, and that he had said, that the book they gave him to swear on, saith, Swear not at all. And repeating more of what he spoke then, the judge said, "I will not dis-

pute with you but in point of law." George Fox offering to speak something to the jury concerning the indictment, he was stopped by the judge; and then George Fox asked him, whether the oath was to be tendered to the king's subjects only, or to the subjects of foreign princes? The judge replied, "To the subjects of this realm." Well, said he, "Look to the indictment, and thou mayest see that the word subject is left out of this indictment also." Several other great errors as to time, &c. he had observed in the indictment, but no sooner had he spoken concerning the errors, but the judge cried, "Take him away, jailor, take him away." Then he was hurried away; yet the people thought he should have been called again; but that was not done. After he was gone, the judge asked the jury, whether they were agreed? They said, "Yes," and found for the king against him. The reason why George Fox was led away so suddenly, seemed to be that they expected he would have proved the officers of the court to have sworn falsely, seeing the day on which the oath had been tendered to him at the assizes before, was wrong in the indictment; and yet they had sworn, that on that day he had refused to take the oath. Before George Fox was brought before the judge, he had passed sentence of *premunire* against Margaret Fell, for having

refused to take the oath. And though this sentence had not been passed against George Fox, yet he was recorded as a premunired person ; though it had not been asked him, what he had to say why sentence should not be pronounced against him. And thus he continued prisoner in Lancaster castle.

Whilst he was there, though weak of body, he wrote several papers ; but the neighbouring justices laboured much to get him removed from thence to some remote place ; for it was pretty well known among the people how the court at the assizes had dealt with him. So about six weeks after, they got an order from the king and council to remove him from Lancaster ; and they received also a letter from the Earl of Anglesea, wherein it was written, that if these things which he was charged with, were found true against him, he deserved no clemency or mercy : and yet the greatest matter they had against him, was his refusal of the oath. His persecutors now having prepared for his removal, the under sheriff, and the head sheriff's men, with some bailiffs, came and fetched him out of the castle, when he was so weak, by lying in that cold, wet, and smoky prison, that he could hardly go or stand. So they brought him down into the jailor's house, where justice William Kirbey, and several were. They called for wine to give

him; but he well knowing their malice against him, told them, he would have none of their wine. Then they cried, bring out the horses. G. Fox therefore desired, that if they intended to remove him, they would first shew him their order, or a copy of it. But they would not shew him any but their swords. He then told them, there was no sentence passed upon him, neither was he premunired, that he knew of; and therefore he was not made the king's prisoner, but was the sheriffs': for they and all the country knew that he was not fully heard at the last assizes, nor suffered to shew the errors that were in the indictment, which were sufficient to quash it. And that they all knew there was no sentence of premunire passed upon him; and therefore he not being the king's prisoner, but the sheriff's, desired to see their order. But instead of shewing him their order, they haled him out, and lifted him upon one of the sheriff's horses; for he was so very weak, that he was hardly able to sit on horseback. Riding thus along the street, he was much gazed upon by the people, and had great reason to say, that he received neither christianity, civility, nor humanity; for how ill and weak soever he was, yet they hurried him away about fourteen miles to Bentham in Yorkshire; and so wicked was the jailor, one Hunter, a young fellow, that he lashed the horse on

which G. Fox rode, with his whip, to make him skip and leap, insomuch that he had much ado to sit him? and then would this wanton fellow come, and looking him in his face, say, "How do you Mr. Fox?" To which he answered, it was not civil in him to do so. Yet this malicious fellow seemed little to regard it; but he had not long time to delight in this kind of insolence; for soon after he was cut off by death.

G. Fox being come down to Benham, was met by a marshal and several troopers, and many of the gentry, besides abundance of people, came thither to stare at him. Being entered the house, and very much tired, he desired they would let him lie down on a bed, which the soldiers permitted; and the marshal, to whom he was delivered, set a guard upon him. After having staid there a while, they pressed horses, and sending for the bailiff and the constables, they had him to Giggleswick that night. And there they raised the constables, who sat drinking all night in the room by him, so that he could get but little rest. The next day coming to a market town, several of his friends came to see him, and at night he asked the soldiers, whither they intended to carry him? To which some said, beyond sea; and others, to Tinnmouth Castle. And there was a fear amongst them, lest some should rescue him; but there was not the least reason for it. The

next night he was brought to York, where the marshal put him into a great chamber, where many of the troopers then came to him. He then speaking something by way of exhortation to the soldiers, many of them were very loving to him. A while after the lord Frecheville, who commanded those horse, came to him, and was civil and loving, and G. Fox gave him an account of his imprisonment.

After a stay of two days at York, the marshal and five soldiers were sent to convey him to Scarborough castle: these behaved themselves civilly to him. On the way they baited at Malton, and permitted his friends to see him. Afterwards being come to Scarborough, they brought him to an inn, and gave notice of it to the governor, who sent six soldiers to guard him that night. The next day they had him into the castle, and there put him into a room, with a centinel to watch him. Out of this room they soon brought him into another, which was so open, that the rain came in, and it smoked exceedingly; which was very offensive to him. One day the governor, sir John Crosland, came into the castle with one sir Francis Cob. G. Fox desired the governor to come into his room, and see how it was, and so they did: and G. Fox having gotten a little fire made in the room, it was so filled with smoke, that they could hardly find the way out again.

And he being a Papist, G. Fox told him, that was his purgatory which they had put him into. For it plainly appeared that there was an intent to vex and distress him : for after he had been at the charge of laying out about fifty shillings, to keep out the rain, and somewhat to ease the smoke, they put him into a worse room, which had neither chimney nor fire hearth ; and lying much open toward the sea-side, the wind so drove in the rain, that the water not only ran about the room, but also came upon his bed. And he having no fire to dry his clothes when they were wet, his body was so benumbed with cold, and his fingers swelled to that degree, that one grew as big as two. And so malicious were his persecutors, that they would hardly suffer any of his friends to come at him, nay, not so much as to bring him a little food ; so that he was forced to hire somebody to bring him necessaries. Thus he spent about a quarter of a year, and afterwards being put into a room where a fire could be made, he hired a soldier to fetch him what he wanted. He then ate scarcely any thing but bread, and of this so little, that a threepenny loaf commonly served him three weeks ; and most of his drink was water, that had worm-wood steeped in it ; and once when the weather was very sharp, and he had taken great cold, he got some elecampane beer.

Now though he desired that his friends and acquaintance might be suffered to come to him, yet this was refused; but some others were admitted to come and gaze upon him, especially Papists, of whom a great company once being come, they affirmed, that the 'pope was infallible, and had been so ever since St. Peter's time. But G. Fox denied this, and alleged from history, that Marcellinus, one of the bishops of Rome, denied the faith, and sacrificed to idols: and therefore was not infallible. And he said also, "If the Papists were in the infallible spirit, they would not maintain their religion by jails, swords, gallows, fires, racks, and tortures, &c. nor want such means to hold it up by: for if they were in the infallible spirit, they would preserve mens, lives, and use none but spiritual weapons about religion." He also told them how a certain woman that had been a Papist, but afterwards entered into the society of those called Quakers, having a tailor at work in her house, and speaking to him concerning the falseness of the popish religion, was threatened to have been stabbed by him, for which end he drew his knife at her: since it was as the woman said, the principle of the Papists, if any turn from their religion, to kill them if they can. This story he told the Papists, and they did not deny this to be their principle, but asked, if he would declare

this abroad. And he said, "Yes, such things ought to be declared abroad, that it may be known how contrary your religion is to true Christianity." Whereupon they went away in a rage. Some time after another Papist came to discourse with him, and said, that all the patriarchs were in hell, from the creation till Christ came; and that when he suffered, he went into hell, and the devil said to him, what comest thou hither for; to break open our strong holds? And Christ said, to fetch them all out. And so, he said, Christ was three days and nights in hell, to bring them all out. On which G. Fox said to him, that was false; for Christ said to the thief, "This day thou shalt be with me in paradise." He also said, that Enoch and Elijah were translated into heaven; and that Abraham also was in heaven, since the Scripture saith, that Lazarus was in his bosom. And Moses and Elias were with Christ upon the mount, before he suffered. With these instances he stopped his adversary's mouth and put him to a nonplus.

At another time there came to him a great physician, called Dr. Witty; being accompanied with the lord Falconbridge, the governor of Timmouth Castle, and several knights. G. Fox being called to them, this doctor undertook to discourse with him, and asked, what he was in prison for? G. Fox told him, because he would

not disobey the command of Christ, and swear. To which the doctor said, he ought to swear his allegiance to the king. Now G. Fox knowing him to be a great Presbyterian, asked him, whether he had not sworn against the king and the house of lords, and taken the Scotch covenant; and whether he had not since sworn to the king, the doctor having no ready answer to this, G. Fox asked him, what then was his swearing good for: telling him farther, "My allegiance doth not consist in swearing, but in truth and faithfulness." After some further discourse, G. Fox was led away to his prison again; and afterwards the doctor boasted, that he had conquered G. Fox; which he having heard, told the governor, it was a small boast in him to say he had conquered a bondman.

A while after this doctor came again, having many great persons with him, and he affirmed before them all, That Christ had not enlightened every man that cometh into the world; that the grace of God, which brought salvation, had not appeared unto all men; and that Christ had not died for all men. G. Fox asked him, what sort of men those were, which Christ had not enlightened; and whom his grace had not appeared unto. To which the doctor answered, Christ did not die for adulterers, and idolaters, and wicked men. Then G. Fox asked him, whe-

ther adulterers and wicked men were not sinners? and he said, Yes, Which made G. Fox say, "And did not Christ die for sinners? Did he not come to call sinners to repentance?" Yes, said the doctor. "Then," replied G. Fox, "thou hast stopped thy own mouth." And so he proved, that the grace of God had appeared unto all men, though some turned it into wantonness, and walked despitefully against it; and that Christ had enlightened all men, though some hated the light. Several of those that were present, confessed it was true; but the doctor went away in a rage, and came no more to him.

At another time the governor came to him, with two or three parliament men, and they asked him, whether he owned ministers and bishops; to which he said, Yes, such as Christ sent forth; such as had freely received and would freely give; and such as were qualified, and were in the same power and spirit that they were in, in the apostles' days. "But such bishops and teachers as yours are, that will go no farther than they have a great benefice, I do not own; for they are not like the apostles: for Christ saith to his ministers, "Go ye into all nations, and preach the gospel." But ye parliament men, that keep your priests and bishops in such great fat benefices, ye have spoiled them all: for do you think they will go into all nations to preach, or will go any further

than they have great fat benefices? Judge yourselves, whether they will or no. To this they could say little, and whatever was objected to G. Fox, he always had an answer in readiness; and because sometimes it was simple and plain, his enemies from thence took occasion to say, that he was a fool. But whatever such said, it is certain that he had a good understanding, though he was not educated in human learning. This I know by my own experience, for I have had familiar conversation with him.

In this his prison, he was much visited, even by people of note. General Fairfax's widow came once to him with a great company, one of which was a priest, who began to quarrel with him, because speaking to one person, he said, thou and thee, and not you; and those that spoke so, the priest said, he counted but fools. Which made G. Fox ask him, whether they that translated the Scriptures, and that made the grammar and accidence, were fools; seeing they translated the Scriptures so, and made the grammar so, thou to one, and you to more than one. With these and other reasons he soon silenced the priest; and several of the company acknowledged the truth he declared to them, and were loving to him; and some of them would have given him money, but he would not receive it.

Whilst I leave him yet prisoner, I will go to

other matters, and relate the remarkable case of one William Dundas, who being a man of some repute in Scotland, came over to the communion of those called Quakers, in a singular manner. He was a man of strict life, and observed the ecclesiastical institutions there as diligently as any of the most precise: but in time he saw, that bodily exercise profited little, and that it was true godliness which the Lord required from man. In this state, becoming more circumspect than he was accustomed to be, he did not frequent the public assemblies so much as formerly. But this was soon taken notice of, and being asked the reason why, he said, that there was a thing beyond that, which he looked for. But it was told him, this was a dangerous principle. To which Dundas replied, that he was not to receive the law from the mouth of man. Then the minister (so called) said to him, that he tempted God. To which Dundas returned, that God could not be tempted to evil. Now that which made him more averse to the priests of that nation, was to see their domineering pride; and how they forced some that were not one with them in their principles, to comply with their institutions, sprinkling the children of parents even without their consent. Add to this, their going from one benefice to another, being always ready to go from a small church to a great one, under pretence of more service for

the church ; whereas it plainly appeared, that selfish interest generally was the main cause. This behaviour of the clergy, and their rigid persecution, if any deviated a little from the church ceremonies and the common form, turned Dundas's affection from them. An instance of this rigidity, was, that one—Wood, who had some charge in the custom house of Leith, and approved in some respect the doctrine of those called Quakers, had said, that Christ was the word, and that the letter was not the word. For this he was cited before the ecclesiastical assembly of Lothian, where Dundas was present ; and Wood so well defended his saying, that none were able to overthrow his arguments : chiefly drawn from these words of John, " That the word was made flesh, and dwelt among us." Wood continuing to maintain his assertion, they began to threaten him with excommunication, and would not allow him so much time as to give his answer to the next assembly. Excommunication there was such a penalty, that people under it were very much deprived of conversation with men. The fear of this made Wood comply in a little time ; and meeting Dundas about three months after in the street at Edinburgh, he told him, that he had been forced to bow to the assembly against his light ; for if he had been excommunicated, he had lost his livelihood. Thus Wood bowed through

human fear, but he hardly outlived this two years.

In the meanwhile the priest became more and more jealous of Dundas ; for he not having them in such an esteem as they wished, they said, that he would infect the whole nation. And they did not stop here, but to know with whom he corresponded in England, they opened (so great was their power) his letters at the post-house, and sometimes kept them : but if they found nothing in them, by which they could prejudice him, they caused them to be sealed up again and delivered to him. By this base practice, they came to know that one Gawen Lawry, merchant of London, sent him a box, with about three pounds sterling worth of books. This box Dundas found afterwards that the priest, John Oswald, had taken away : and whatever he did, he could not get them again, till the English came into Scotland, but then many of them were wanting. Dundas in the meanwhile unwilling to comply with the kirk, was at length excommunicated ; but he was generally so well esteemed, that none seemed to regard that sentence, so as to keep at a distance from him : which made this act the more contemptible. Now though Dundas favoured the doctrine of the Quakers, yet they were such a despised people, that he, who was

a man of some account in the world, could not as yet give up to join with them.

It happened once that he was riding from Edinburgh to his house, in a winter evening, and hearing a noise of some men as if fighting, he bade his man ride up in haste to see what it was, which he did, and calling out, said, that there were two men on horseback, beating another on foot; Dundas riding up to them, saw the two beating the other man, who said to them, "What did I say to you, but bid you fear God?" By this Dundas presently perceived that the man thus beaten was a Quaker; and asking his name, which the other telling, he knew it, though he did not know the man by sight; and then he fell a beating the two with his rod, and ordered those that were with him, to carry them to the next prison: but the said Quaker intreated him to let them go, which he did, after having asked their names, and dwelling places. About a week after, the said Quaker told a relation of Dundas what kindness he shewed him, and how he had in some manner been saved by him; yet, said he, I found the same spirit in him that was in the other two men who beat me. Such a saying as this would have offended some men, but with Dundas it had a contrary effect; for these words so reached him, that some time after meeting the said Quaker again, he desired, that as he pass

that way, he would make his house his lodging place : which kind invitation he seemed not unwilling to accept of. Dundas had now attained to so much experience, that he could discern between the spirits of meekness and rashness ; and sufficiently perceive that the said Quaker by that which he spoke concerning him, had not made himself guilty of the latter ; but yet he could not bow so low, as to join in society with the Quakers, though secretly he endeavoured more and more to live up to their doctrine ; and therein he enjoyed more peace in his heart than formerly.

But his outward condition in the world not being very forward, he went into France, and settled at Dieppe. Whilst he dwelt there, a certain woman out of England, came thither with her maid, and spread in the town some books of George Fox and William Dewsbury, translated into French ; and she herself having written some papers, got them turned into French by Dundas, and so distributed them. But the message she chiefly came for, she hid from him, and that not without reason ; for what she acted there was so singular, that if it had been known before, it is probable she would not have been able to perform it. Though I do not find what her intent was in the thing, yet it seems likely to me, that she, knowing the language there spoken, would

by a sign testify against their pride in apparel and dress, and that on this wise: on the first day of the week she came to the meeting house of the Protestants there, where some thousands of people were met; and, having set herself in the most conspicuous place, just over against him that preached, before the service was finished, she stood up, with the maid that was with her, who taking off a mantle and hood she was covered with, she appeared clothed in sack-cloth, and her hair hanging down, sprinkled with ashes: thus she turned herself round several times, that all the people might see her. This sight struck both preacher and auditory with no small consternation; and the preacher's wife afterwards telling somebody how this sight had affected her, said, "This is of deeper reach than I can comprehend." The said women having stood thus a while, fell both down upon their knees, and prayed, and then went out of the meeting, many following them, and they distributed some books. Then they came to their lodging, which was in a Scotchman's house; but he refusing them entrance, they came to Dundas's lodging, who knew nothing of all this. They therefore told him, that the work they came for in that nation, was now done: and he asking what they had done, they told him, and signified that they wanted lodging till they went away. Then he went abroad to see if he could

find lodging for them, but in vain; he then offered them his bed, being willing to shift for himself somewhere else, but they refused to accept of his offer; and his landlady not being willing to let them sit up that night in any of her rooms, they were fain to stay that night in an out-house.

Now this business had made such a stir in the town, that one of the king's officers coming the next day to Dundas, told him, that he had transgressed the laws of the nation, by receiving persons of another religion to his lodging: for the king tolerated only two religions, viz. Papists and Protestants. To this Dundas said, that he had not transgressed the law of hospitality, and he had been forced to do so, since he could not let them lie in the street, where they would have been in danger of their lives by the rude multitude. Then the women were taken away, and sent to prison; and they not being provided with food, Dundas took care of that. Sometime after, an order being come from the parliament at Rouen, it was read to them, viz. that they should be transported forthwith back to England, with the first passage boat, and all their papers and books to be burnt in the market, and themselves also, if ever they should come to that nation again. In pursuance of this, they were put into a passage-boat in the night time, and so sent to England.

Afterwards the people at Dieppe intended to pursue Dundas, as one of their judgment; but he was unwilling to be looked upon as such, though the Protestants had informed against him, that he did not come to their meetings: but of this no crime could be made, and Dundas told them, if they persecuted him, being a merchant, and trafficking there, they might expect the like to be done to their merchants in England. And when the judge affirmed, that Dundas was of the judgment of those women, he told him, that they were better than he; but that their way was too strait for him to walk in. There fell out two things which Dundas took singular notice of; the one was, that the Scotchman, who shut out the women, died within twelve months after; and the other, that the house of his landlady, who refused them a chamber to sit in, was burnt within the said time, without its being known whence the fire came, no houses being burnt besides, though it was in the middle of the town.

In the meanwhile Dundas continued in an unquiet condition: for by reason of human fear, he found himself too weak to profess publicly before men, what he believed to be truth.

Then he went to Rouen, but could get no rest there, being somewhat indisposed in body; and having from England gotten a great many

books, treating of the doctrine of those called Quakers, he sent some of them to the judge criminal at Dieppe, and some to the Jesuits college there, and at Paris. Afterwards he spread some books also at Caen, where many Protestants lived. But since those books spoke against the Papists, and the Calvinists were in fear that thereby, they might be brought to sufferings, they complained to the lieutenant general of the town, of Dundas, as one that did not come to their meeting. By this he was forced to leave that place, and went to Alencon, where staying a while, the judge criminal sent for him; and after a long discourse, he and Dundas agreed so well, that he invited him to come and see him oftener, and that if he would, he might have an opportunity to discourse with some of the Jesuits. But Dundas told him, that he was not willing to dispute with any; yet he should not be afraid to maintain his principles, against all the Jesuits of the nation. This being told the Jesuits, it so exasperated them against him, that being once out of the town, they caused his chamber door to be broken up, to search his lodging. He complaining of this to the judge criminal, the judge told him he knew nothing of it, and if there was any thing, it did proceed from the Jesuits, because of his confidence against them. This seemed not improbable, for he found his letters opened at the post

house several times, and when he challenged the post master, he received for an answer, that they came so to him.

- Sometime after he returned to Caen, where he was not long; but his correspondent at Alençon sent him word, that the day after he went from thence, the governor of the town had been at his lodging to seek for him.

In the next year, when a war arose between England and France, he came again to Dieppe, in order to return to England; having got passage in company with the lord Hollis, ambassador from England; where being arrived, he frequented the meetings of those called Quakers, yet was not bold enough to own the name of Quaker, but continued in the common way of salutations, &c. Yet at length the truth they professed, had such power over him, that not being able to enjoy peace without yielding obedience to the inward convictions upon his mind, he at length gave up, and so entered into their society, and obtained a true peace with the Lord, which he had long reasoned himself out of. In process of time he published a book in print, from which I have drawn this relation, which he concluded with a poem, in which he thanked God for his singular dealings and mercies he bestowed upon him, wishing that others might reap benefit by it.

Thus parting with William Dandas, I am

now to say, that in this year, 1665, in December William Caton, died at Amsterdam. He was a man not only of literature, and zealous for religion, but of a courteous and affable temper and conversation, by which he was in good esteem among those he was acquainted with; and as to respect he had there, this may serve as an instance. Holland at this time being at war with England, there were several English prisoners of war in the prison of the court of admiralty at Amsterdam, who now and then were visited by Caton, and supplied with some sustenance: but in this he was hindered by an officer of that court, who seemed offended because Caton did not give him that honour. This gave occasion to Caton to complain of it to a burgomaster of the city, I think the lord Cornelius Van Vlooswyh, who at that time was one of the lords of the admiralty; he bid Caton come to his house at such a time as he was to go to the court; which he did, and went with the said burgomaster towards the court; where being come, and entrance denied him by the said officer, the burgomaster charged him not to hinder Caton from visiting the prisoners. About this time a law was made in England, called,

An Act for restraining Non-Conformists from inhabiting in Corporations.

Whereas divers parsons, vicars, curates, lecturers, and other persons in holy orders, have not declared their unfeigned assent and consent in the use of all things contained and prescribed in the book of Common Prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church, according to the use of the church of England, or have not subscribed to the declaration or acknowledgment contained in a certain act of parliament, made in the fourteenth year of his majesty's reign, and entitled, "An act for the uniformity of public prayers, and administration of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, and for the establishing the form of making, ordaining and consecrating of bishops, priests and deacons in the church of England," according to the said act, or any other subsequent act. And whereas they, or some of them, and divers other person or persons not ordained according to the form of the church of England, and as have, since the act of oblivion, taken upon them to preach in unlawful assemblies, conventicles, or meetings, under colour or pretence of exercise of religion, contrary to the laws and statutes of this kingdom, and have settled themselves in divers corporations in England, sometimes three or more of them in a place, thereby taking an opportunity to distil the poisonous principles of schism and rebellion into the hearts of his majesty's sub-

jects, to the great danger of the church and kingdom :

II. Be it therefore enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said parsons, vicars, curates, lecturers, and other persons in holy orders; or pretended holy orders; or pretending to holy orders, and all stipendiaries, and other persons who have been possessed of any ecclesiastical or spiritual promotion, and every of them, who have not declared their unfeigned assent and consent, as aforesaid, and subscribed the declaration as aforesaid, and shall not take and subscribe the oath following :

(2) "I *A. B.* do swear, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the king; and that I do abhor that traiterous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him, in pursuance of such commission; and that I will not at any time endeavour any alteration of government, either in church or state: shall not come within five miles of any city, &c. nor teach school, on pain to forfeit £40.

And though this act was chiefly made against the Presbyterians and Independents, who formerly had been employed in the public church, yet they suffered but little by it but it was cunningly made use of to vex the Quakers, who, because for conscience-sake they could not swear, were on this law prosecuted and imprisoned, &c.

Now since the pestilence had been so fierce this year in London, that about an hundred thousand people were swept away by it and otherwise, and also many of those called Quakers, there must be consequently many poor widows and fatherless children among those of that society. And because the men, who at times kept meetings to take care of the poor, found that this burthen grew too heavy for them, they offered part of this service and care to the most grave and solid women of their church, who for this service met once a week in London, and this in time gave rise to the womens monthly meetings in other places in England.

I return now to the ship with the banished prisoners, which I left lying in the Thames: but the owners having put in another master, whose name was Peter Love, the ship, after long lingering, left the river, and came into the Downs. In the month called January in the year ensuing, Luke Howard wrote from Dover,

that of fifty four banished persons, who almost half a year ago had been brought on ship-board, but twenty seven remained, the rest being dead. By this long stay the ship several times wanted a fresh supply of provision, and the ship's crew grew so uneasy, that two of them having gone ashore with the boat, ran away, leaving the boat floating, by which it was staved to pieces. At length the master, though he had but few, and those mostly raw sailors, and was ill provided with victuals, yet resolved to set sail. And so they weighed anchor, and went down the channel as far as Plymouth, where after some stay, they set sail again, which was on the 23d of the month called February; but the next day being advanced as far as the Land's end, a Dutch privateer came and took the ship; and to avoid being re-taken, went about the backside of Ireland and Scotland, and so after three weeks came with some of the banished to Horn in North Holland; and some days after, the prize, with the rest of them entered also into that port. Here they were kept some time in prison; but the commissioners of the admiralty having understood, that there was no likelihood to get the banished Quakers exchanged for Dutch prisoners of war in England, resolved to set them at liberty, and gave them a letter of passport, and a certificate, that they had not made

an escape, but were sent back by them. They coming to Amsterdam, were by their friends there provided with lodging and clothes; for their own had been taken from them by the privateer's crew; and in process of time they all returned to England, except one, who not being an Englishman, staid in Holland. Thus the banished were delivered, and the design of their persecutors was brought to nought by an Almighty hand.

In the meanwhile G. Fox continued prisoner in Scarborough Castle, where the access of his friends was denied him, though people of other persuasions were admitted. Once came to him one doctor Cradock with three priests, accompanied with the governor, and his wife, and many besides. Cradock asked him, what he was in prison for? He answered, for obeying the command of Christ and his apostle in not swearing: but if he, being both a doctor and a justice of the peace, could convince him, that after Christ and the apostle had forbidden swearing, they commanded Christians to swear, then he would swear. "Here is a bible," continued he, "Shew me any such command if thou canst." To this Cradock said, "It is written, ye shall swear in truth and righteousness." "Aye," said George Fox, "it was written so in Jeremiah's time, but that was many ages before Christ commanded, not to swear at all: but

where it is written so since Christ forbad all swearing? I could bring as many instances for swearing out of the Old Testament as thou, and it may be more too, but of what force are they to prove swearing lawful in the New Testament, since Christ and the apostles forbad it? Besides, where it is written, ye shall swear, was this said to the Gentiles, or to the Jews? To this Cradock would not answer; but one of the priests said, it was to the Jews, "Very well," said G. Fox, "But where did God ever give a command to the Gentiles to swear? For thou knowest that we are Gentiles by nature." "Indeed," said Cradock, "in the gospel-time every thing was to be established out of the mouths of two or three witnesses, and there was no swearing then." "Why then," returned G. Fox, "Dost thou force oaths upon Christians, contrary to thine own knowledge of the gospel times? and why dost thou excommunicate my friends?" Cradock answered, "For not going to church." "Why," said G. Fox "ye left us above twenty years ago, when we were but young, to the Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, many of whom made spoil of our goods, and persecuted us because we would not follow them: now we being but young, knew little then of your principles, and those that knew them should not have fled from us, but ye should have sent us your epistles or homilies;

for Paul wrote epistles to the saints, though he was in prison: but we might have turned Turks or Jews for aught we had from you of instruction. And now ye have excommunicated us, that is, you have put us out of your church, before ye have got us into it, and before ye have brought us to know your principles. Is not this madness in you to put us out, before we were brought in? But what dost thou call the church? continued he. "That which you," replied Cradock, call the steeple-house. Then G. Fox asked him, whether Christ's blood was shed for the steeple-house, and whether he purified and sanctified it with his blood; "And seeing," thus continued he, "the church is Christ's bride and wife, and that he is the head of the church, dost thou think the steeple-house is Christ's bride and wife? And that he is the head of that old house, or of his people? "No," said Cradock, "Christ is the head of the people, and they are the church." "But," replied G. Fox, "ye have given that title to an old house, which belongs to the people, and ye have taught people to believe so." He asked him also, why he persecuted his friends for not paying tithes: and whether God did ever give a command to the Gentiles, that they should pay tithes and whether Christ had not ended tithes, when he ended the Levitical priesthood that took tithes; and whether Christ, when he sent forth his

disciples to preach, had not commanded them to preach freely, as he had given them freely ; and whether all the ministers of Christ were not bound to observe this command of Christ. Cradock said he would not dispute that ; and being unwilling to stay on this subject, he turned to another matter ; but finding G. Fox never to be at a loss for an answer, and that he could get no advantage of him, he at length went away with his company.

With such kind of people G. Fox was often troubled whilst he was prisoner there : for most that came to the castle would speak with him, and many disputes he had with them. But as to his friends, he was as a man buried alive, for very few of them were suffered to come to him. Josiah Coale once desiring admittance, the governor told him, " You are an understanding man, but G. Fox is a mere fool." Now though the governor dealt hardly with him, yet in time he altered, for having sent out a privateer to sea, they took some ships that were not their enemies, which brought him into some trouble : after that he grew somewhat more friendly with G. Fox : to whom the deputy governor said once, that the king knowing that he had a great interest in the people, had sent him thither, that if there should be any stirring in the nation, they should hang him over the wall. And among the Papists, who were numerous in those

parts, there was much talk of hanging G. Fox. But he told them, if that was what they desired, and it was permitted them, he was ready, for he never feared death nor sufferings in his life; but was known to be an innocent peaceable man, free from all stirrings and plottings, and one that sought the good of all men. But the governor now growing kinder, G. Fox spoke to him when he was to go to the parliament in London, and desired him to speak to Esq. Marsh, sir Francis Cob, and some others, and to tell them how long he had lain in prison, and for what. This the governor did, and at his coming back told him that Esq. Marsh said, he knew G. Fox so well, that he would go an hundred miles barefoot for his liberty; and that several others at court had spoken well of him.

After he had been prisoner there above a year, in the castle, he sent a letter to the king, in which he gave him an account of his imprisonment, and also of the bad treatment he had met with, and also that he was informed that no man could deliver him but the king. Esq. Marsh, who was a gentleman of the king's bedchamber, did whatever he could to procure his liberty, and at length obtained an order from the king for his release; the substance of which was, "That the king being certainly informed that G. Fox was a man principled against plotting and fighting, and had been ready at all

times to discover plots, rather than to make any &c, that therefore his royal pleasure was, that he should be discharged from his imprisonment, &c. This order being obtained, was not long after brought to Scarborough, and delivered to the governor, who upon the receipt thereof, discharged him, and gave him the following passport.

“Permit the bearer hereof, George Fox, late a prisoner here, and now discharged by his majesty’s order, quietly to pass about his lawful occasions, without any molestation. Given under my hand at Scarborough Castle, this first day of September, 1666.

“Jordan Croslands,
“Governor of Scarborough Castle.”

G. Fox being thus released, would have given the governor something for the civility and kindness he had of late shewed him; but he would not receive any thing; and said, whatever good he could do for him and his friends, he would do it, and never do them any hurt: and so he continued loving to his dying day; nay if at any time the mayor of the town, sent to him for soldiers, to disperse the meetings of those called Quakers, if he sent any, he privately charged them, not to meddle with the meeting.

The very next day after G. Fox was released, the fire broke out in London, and the report of it came quickly down into the country, how that city was turned into rubbish and ashes, (insomuch that after an incessant fire which lasted nearly four days, but little of old London, was left standing) there being about thirteen thousand and two hundred houses burnt; the account whereof hath been so circumstantially described by others, that I need not treat of it at large; but I cannot omit to say, that Thomas Briggs, some years before passing through the streets of London, preached repentance to the inhabitants; and coming through Cheapside, he cried out, that unless London repented, as Nineveh did, God would destroy it.

Now I may relate another remarkable prediction.

Thomas Ibbitt of Huntingdonshire came to London a few days before the burning of that city, and (as hath been related by eyewitnesses) did upon his coming thither, alight from his horse, and unbutton his clothes in so loose a manner, as if they had been put on in haste just out of bed. In this manner he went about the city on the 6th (being the day he came thither) and also on the 7th day of the week, pronouncing a judgment by fire which should lay waste the city. On the evening of these

days some of his friends had meetings with him, to enquire concerning his message and call, to pronounce that impending judgment: in his account whereof he was not more particular and clear, than that he said he for sometime had the vision thereof, but had delayed to come and declare it as commanded, until he felt (as he expressed it) the fire in his own bosom: which message or vision was very suddenly proved to be sadly true, as the foregoing brief account doth in part declare. The fire began on the 2d of September, 1666, on the first day of the week, which did immediately follow those two days the said Thomas Ibbitt had gone about the city declaring that judgment.

Having gone up and down the city, as hath been said, when afterwards he saw the fire break out, and beheld the fulfilling of his prediction, a spiritual pride seized on him, which, if others had not been wiser than he, might have tended to his utter destruction: for the fire being come as far as the east end of Cheapside, he placed himself before the flame, and spread his arms forth, as if to stay the progress of it; and if one Thomas Matthews, with others, had not pulled him (who seemed now altogether distracted) from thence, it was like he might have perished by the fire. Yet in process of time, as I have been told, he came to some re-

covery, and confessed this error, an evident proof of human weakness, and a notorious instance of our frailty, when we assume to ourselves the doing of any thing, to which heaven alone can enable us.

I cannot well pass by without taking notice of it, that about three weeks before the said fire, the English landed in the island of Schelling in Holland, under the conduct of captain Holmes, and setting the town on fire, there were above three hundred houses burnt down belonging mostly to Baptists that did not bear arms. It may be farther observed, that the English were beaten at sea this summer by the Dutch, under the conduct of admiral De Ruyter, in a fight, which lasted four days ; so that they had occasion to call to mind how often the judgments of God had been foretold them, which now came over their country, viz. pestilence, war, and fire.

G. Fox being at liberty did not omit to visit his friends, and in their meetings to edify them with his exhortations, whereby others also came to be convinced. And coming to Whitby, he went to a priest's house, who fourteen years before had said, that if ever he met G. Fox again, he would have his life, or he should have his. But now his wife was not only one of G. Fox's friends, but this priest himself favoured the doctrine professed by his wife, and was

very kind to G. Fox, who passed from thence to York, where he had a large meeting, and visited also justice Robinson, who had been loving to him from the beginning. At this time there was a priest with him, who told G. Fox, "It is said of you that ye love none but yourselves." But he shewed him his mistake, and gave him so much satisfaction, that they parted friendly.

In this county G. Fox had many meetings, and one not far from colonel Kirby's abode, who had been the chief means of his imprisonment at Lancaster and Scarborough castles; and when he heard of his release, said, he would have him taken again; but now when G. Fox came so near him, he himself was caught by the gout, which had seized him so that he was fain to keep his bed; and afterwards he met with adversities, as did most of the justices and others who had been the cause of the imprisonment of G. Fox, who now coming to Sinderhill Green, had a large meeting there, where the priest sent the constable to the justices for a warrant; but the notice being short, the way long, and having spent time in searching for G. Fox in another house, before the officers came where the meeting was, it was ended, though they had almost spoiled their horses by hard riding.

G. F. passing from thence through Notting-

hamshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire, and visiting his friends in all places where he came, and edifying them in their meetings, gets at length to London: but he was so weak, by lying almost three years in hard and cold prisons, and his joints and body were so stiff and benumbed, that he could hardly get on horseback.

Being now in London, he beheld the ruins of the city, and saw the fulfilling of what had been shewn him some years before. Notwithstanding this stroke on London, persecution did not cease, which gave occasion to Josiah Coale to write these lines to the king:

“ King Charles,

“ Set the people of God at liberty, who suffer imprisonment for the exercise of their conscience towards him, and give liberty of conscience to them to worship and serve him as he requireth, and leadeth them by his spirit; or else his judgments shall not depart from thy kingdom, until thereby he hath wrought the liberty of his people, and removed their oppressions. And remember thou art once more warned,

by a servant of the Lord,
Josiah Coale.”

London, Dec. 2, 1666.

About this time, or it may be in the next month, Stephen Crisp published an epistle, containing an exhortation to his friends, and also a prediction concerning succeeding times, which is as followeth :

“ Friends,

“ I am the more drawn forth at this time to visit you with an epistle, because the Lord hath given me some sight of his great and dreadful day, and workings in it, which is at hand, and greatly hastens, of which I have something to say unto you, that ye may be prepared to stand in his day, and may behold his wondrous working among his enemies, and have fellowship with his power therein, and may not be dismayed nor driven away in the tempest, which will be great.

“ And as concerning these succeeding times, the spirit of the Lord hath signified, that they will be times of horror and amazement, to all that have, and yet do reject his counsel : for as the days of his forbearance, warning and inviting, have been long, so shall his appearance amongst those that have withstood him, be fierce and terrible ; even so terrible, as who shall abide his coming ? For the Lord will work both secretly and openly, and his arm shall be manifest to his children in both.

“ Secretly he shall raise up a continual fret-

ting anguish among his enemies, one against another, so that being vexed and tormented inwardly, they shall seek to make each other miserable, and delight therein for a little season ; and then the prevailer must be prevailed over, and the digger of the pit must fall therein ; and the confidence that men have had one in another shall fail, and they will beguile and betray one another, both by counsel and strength ; and as they have banded themselves to break you, whom God hath gathered, so shall they band themselves one against another, to break, to spoil and destroy one another ; and through the multitude of their treacheries, all credit or belief on the account of their solemn engagement, shall fail ; so that few men shall count themselves, or what is theirs, safe in the hand of his friend, who hath not chosen his safety and friendship in the pure light of the unchangeable truth of God ; and all the secret counsels of the ungodly shall be brought to nought, sometimes by the means of some of themselves, and sometimes by impossibilities lying in their way, which shall make their hearts fail of ever accomplishing what they have determined ; and in this state shall men fret themselves for a season, and shall not be able to see the hand that turns against them, but shall turn to fight against one thing and another, and a third thing, and shall stagger, and reel in counsel and judg-

ment, as drunken men that know not where to find the way to rest ; and when they do yet stir themselves up against the holy people, and against the holy covenant of light, and them that walk in it, they shall but be the more confounded ; for they shall be helped with a little help, which all the ungodly shall not hinder them of, to wit, the secret arm of the Lord, maintaining their cause, and raising up a witness in the very hearts of their adversaries to plead their innocency, and this shall make them yet the more to vex themselves, and to go thorough hard bestead ; for when they shall look upward to their religion, to their power, policy, or preferments, or friendships, or whatsoever else they had trusted in and relied upon, they shall have cause to curse it ; and when they look downwards to the effects produced by all those things, behold then trouble, and horror, and vexation take hold on them, and drive them to darkness ; and having no help but what is earthly, and being out of the knowledge of the mighty overturning power of the Lord God Almighty, they shall despair and wear out their days with anguish ; and besides all this, the terrible hand of the Lord is, and shall be openly manifested against this ungodly generation, by bringing grievous and terrible judgments and plagues upon them, tumbling down all things in which their pride and glory stood, and overturning even the fountains

of their strength; yea, the Lord will lay waste the mountain of the ungodly, and the strength of the fenced city shall fail, and when men shall say, "We will take refuge in them," Nah. iii. 12, 13. they shall become but a snare, and there shall the sword devour: and when they shall say, we will go into the field, and put trust in the number and courage of our soldiers, they shall both be taken away; and this evil also will come of the Lord, and his hand will be stretched out still, and shall bring confusion, ruin upon ruin, and war upon war; and the hearts of men shall be stirred in them, and the nations shall be as waters, into which a tempest, a swift whirlwind is entered, and even as waves swell up to the dissolution one of another, and breaking one of another, so shall the swellings of people be: and because of the hardship and sorrow of those days, many shall seek and desire death rather than life.

"Ah! my heart relents, and is moved within me in the sense of these things, and much more than I can write or declare, which the Lord will do in the earth, and will also make haste to accomplish among the sons of men, that they may know and confess, that the Most High doth rule in the kingdoms of men, and pulleth down and setteth up according to his own will: and this men shall do before seven times pass

over them, and shall be content to give their glory unto him that sits in heaven.

“But, oh friends! while all these things are working and bringing to pass, repose ye yourselves in the munition of that rock that all these shakings shall not move, even in the knowledge and feeling of the eternal power of God, keeping you subjectly given up to his heavenly will, and feel it daily to kill and mortify that which remains in any of you, which is of this world; for the worldly part in any, is the changeable part, and that is up and down, full and empty, joyful and sorrowful, as things go well or ill in the world: for as the truth is but one, and many are made partakers of its spirit; so the world is but one, and many are partakers of the spirit of it; and so many as do partake of it, so many will be straightened and perplexed with it; but they who are single to the truth, waiting daily to feel the life and virtue of it in their hearts, these shall rejoice in the midst of adversity; these shall not have their hearts moved with fear, nor tossed with anguish because of evil tidings, Psal, cxii. 7, 8. Because that which fixeth them remains with them: these shall know their entrance with the bridegroom, and so be kept from sorrow, though his coming be with a noise; and when a midnight is come upon man's glory, yet they being ready and prepared, it will be well with them, and having a true sense

of the power working in themselves, they cannot but have unity and fellowship with the works of it in the earth, and will not at all murmur against what is, nor wish nor will what is not to be; these will be at rest till the indignation passeth over, and these having no design to carry on, nor any party to promote in the earth, cannot possibly be defeated or disappointed in their undertakings.

“And when you see divisions, and parties, and rending in the bowels of nations, and rumours and tempests in the minds of the people, then take heed of being moved to this party, or to that party, or giving your strength to this or that, or counselling this way or that way, but stand single to the truth of God, in which neither war, rent, nor division is; and take heed of that part in any of you, which trusts and relies upon any sort of the men of this world, in the day of their prosperity; for the same party will bring you to suffer with them in the time of their adversity, which will not be long after; for stability in that ground there will be none: but when they shall say, come join with us in this or that, remember you are joined to the Lord by his pure spirit, to walk with him in peace and in righteousness, and you feeling this, this gathers out of all bustlings, and noises, and parties and tumults, and leads you to exalt the standard, of truth and righteousness, in an inno

cent conversation, to see who will flow unto that; and this shall be a refuge for many of the weary, tossed, and afflicted ones in those days, and a shelter for many whose day is not yet over.

“So dearly beloved friends and brethren, who have believed and known the blessed appearance of the truth, let not your hearts be troubled at any of these things: oh, let not the things that are at present, nor things that are yet to come, move you from steadfastness, but rather double your diligence, zeal, and faithfulness to the cause of God: for they that know the work wrought in themselves, they shall rest in the day of trouble. Yea, though the fig-tree fail, and the vine brings not forth, and the labour of the olive tree ceaseth, and the fields yield no meat, and sheep be cut off from the fold, and there be no bullocks in the stall, yet then mayest thou rejoice in the Lord, and sing praises to the God of thy salvation. Hab. iii. 16 17.

“And how near these days are to this poor nation, few know, and therefore the cry of the Lord is very loud unto its inhabitants, through his servants and messengers, that they would prize their time while they have it, lest they be overturned, wasted, and laid desolate before they are aware; and before destruction come

upon them, and there be no remedy, as it hath already done upon many.

“Oh London! London! that thou and thy rulers would have considered, and hearkened and heard, in the day of thy warnings and invitations, and not have persisted in thy rebellion, till the Lord was moved against thee, to cut off the thousands and multitudes from thy streets, and the pressing and thronging of the people from thy gates, and then to destroy and ruin thy streets also, and lay desolate thy gates, when thou thoughtest to have replenished them again.

“And, Oh! saith my soul, that thy inhabitants would yet be warned, and persuaded to repent and turn to the Lord, by putting away every one the evil that is in their hearts, against the truth in yourselves, and against those that walk in it, before a greater desolation and destruction overtake you.

“Oh, what shall I say to prevail with London, and with its inhabitants! The Lord hath called aloud, he hath roared out of Sion unto them, but many of them have not hearkened at all, nor considered at all.

“Well, oh my friends, (and thou, oh my soul) return to your rest, dwell in the pavilion of the ~~house~~ of your God, and my God, and shelter yourselves under the shadow of his wings, where ye shall be witnesses of his doings, and see his

strange act brought to pass, and shall not be hurt therewith, nor dismayed.

“Oh, my friends, in the bowels of dear and tender love have I signified these things unto you, that ye might stand armed with the whole armour of God, clothed in righteousness, and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace; and freely given up in all things to the disposing of the Lord, who will deliver us, not by might nor by sword, nor spear, but by his own eternal, invisible arm, will he yet save us and deliver us, and get himself a name by preserving of us; and we shall yet live to praise him who is worthy of glory, of honour and renown, from the rising of the sun, to the setting of the same, now and for ever, amen, amen, saith my soul.”

“In the year 1667 a book came forth in print in London, with this title, persecution appearing with its open face in William Armorer. This was written by some of the prisoners called Quakers,, and contained a relation of the impetuous carriage of the said Armorer, who being a knight and justice of peace, had made it his business many years one after another, to persecute the Quakers, and from time to time to disturb their religious meetings. From a multitude of cases I meet with in the said book, I will pick out but a few. The aforesaid Armo-

rer came very often to the house of Thomas Curtis, at Reading, to disturb the meeting, taking many persons prisoners from thence, particularly once thirty four, both men and women, at a time. And when they were brought to their trial, the oath was tendered them as the most ready means to ensnare and to keep them in prison. Among the prisoners taken out of the meeting one Henry Pizing, who coming to the bar with his hat in his hand, judge Thomas Holt said, here is a man that hath some manners, and asked him, if he would take the oath of allegiance; To which Pizing answered; he hath taken it twice already. But said the judge, "You were no Quaker then." To which the said Henry replied, "Neither am I now, but have been many weeks among them, and I never met with any hurt by them, but found them to be an honest and civil people." Upon which William Armorer, who had taken him prisoner, said, "Why did not you tell me so before?" To which Henry returned, your worship was so wrathful, that you would not hear me. Then the judge said, "He must take the oath again." The oath being read, he took it, upon which they let him go free without paying any fees. But they required of him, to go out at a back door, and to come no more among the Quakers. But Pizing told them, he hoped

now he was freed, he might go out at which door he would.

Thomas Curtis afterwards being called, the judge asked him, if he would take the oath of allegiance? To which he answered, that he did not refuse the oath upon the account of not bearing allegiance to the king, but because Christ had commanded not to swear at all: for he was persuaded he had manifested himself to be as good a subject to the king as most in the county, since he came into it, and if he could take any oath, either to save his estate or life, he professed he would begin with that oath. Then he desired, that the court would be pleased to let some of their ministers shew him by the Scriptures, how he might take it, and not break the commands of Christ. And the judge called to one Worrel a priest, that was near him, and desired him to satisfy Curtis in this particular. But the priest howing to the court, desired to be excused, saying, he had had to do with some of them already, but they were an obstinate people, and would not be satisfied. Aye, said Curtis, this is commonly the answer we have from these men, when they are desired to answer us a question according to the Scripture: for when we make it appear that they give no satisfactory answer to the question, then they say we are obstinate. Curtis (whose wife Anne was a daughter of a sheriff at Bristol, that had been

hanged near his own door, for endeavouring to bring in the king) was released after some small time; but quickly taken prisoner again by Armorer, who perceiving that he intended to have gone to Bristol fair, caused him to be brought to an inn, where he told him, you are going to Bristol fair, but I will stop your journey. And then commanding the constable to carry him to prison, he was compelled thither without a *mittimus*.

About this time Curtis's imprisoned friends wrote a paper, and it is likely he had a hand in it, to shew the hurt and mischief proceeding from swearing. This paper being sent by him to one of the magistrates, and leave being given him to read it in the council chamber, at the reading of these words, "Because of swearing the land mourns." Alderman Johnson said, that was very true.

Sometime after it happened that T. Curtis, his wife, and man servant being all prisoners, Armorer sent his man to enquire if there were any in the house more than the family, to which the maid having answered no, a little after Armorer came himself, and knocked at the door; but the maid being in fear, did not open it. Armorer then pulling an instrument out of his pocket, picked the lock, entered the house, and searching from room to room, came at length where he found one Joseph Coale, who dwelt in

the house, and was not well at that time: and Armorer taking him by the arm, and pulling him down stairs, said to him, will you take the oath of allegiance? Which he refusing, was sent to the house of correction, whither the day before seven women taken from a meeting had also been brought. This bold act of picking the lock he did at other times also, and once when the maid was gone out to carry some victuals to her master and mistress in prison. In the meantime he searched the warehouse, where was much cloth; and to a woman that was there and spoke against his picking the locks, he said what have you to do with it? and where's that whore? meaning the maid servant. The woman answered him, she had to do with it; for she was to see that nobody did steal any thing out of the house. Besides Armorer continually made it his business to disturb the meeting which was commonly held twice a week; and then he used to curse, and to strike those he found there with a great cane, always sending some to prison. Having once caused three women to be brought before him from the house of correction, he would have them pay a fine for having been at a meeting; to which one Anne Harrison said, "Thou hast got our house already that we built, and hast taken away our means: and wouldst thou have me pay more money when I have broken no law? We were

but four above the age of sixteen years, and the law says, it must be above four." To which Armorer said, his man told him there were six; and two of them ran away." "It is false," said Anne, "there was Frances Kent, but she being a midwife, was fetched out of town; and as for the sixth she was not there." But Armorer not regarding what Anne said, spoke in a rude manner, "I shall have Mrs Kent, and then let the best lady in the land want her, she shall not go, except the king or court send for her."

Many absurdities the prisoners met with in the court, I pass by, as also how from time to time they were treated when they refused the oath. From what hath been said already in more than one place concerning the like cases, one may easily guess how matters were transacted here, which sometimes were so gross, that the spectators shewed their dislike. When once the jury, for want of good witnesses, could not agree to find the bill, Armorer rose off the bench, and appeared as a witness. But notwithstanding the jury returning the second time brought it in *ignoramus*. Upon which the other justice said to them, that sir William Armorer, an honourable gentleman, had taken his oath also. To which the jury returned, it was true, sir William Armorer was an honourable gentleman, but was a man subject to passion. And they continuing unwilling to bring

in the prisoners guilty, the two justices Proctor and Armorer, (for there were then no more on the bench) for all that, would not discharge the prisoners, but sent them to jail again, as seditious persons; for Proctor had told the jury the day before, that if they did not bring in the prisoners guilty, they would make William Armorer, and the clerk perjured persons.

Anne the wife of Thomas Curtis, being called to the bar, and asked if she would take the oath, said, "I look on it as a very hard thing, that I should be required to take this oath, being under covert, and my husband being here a present sufferer, for the very same thing; for there is no other woman in England, that I have heard of, under covert, that is required to take that oath, and kept in prison on that account." But Armorer full of passion, cried, hold your tongue, Nan, and turn your back. And so she, with another woman, that had also been required to take the oath, was sent back to jail, as dangerous and suspected persons. At length some justices procured her liberty; but this so displeased Armorer, that he did not rest before he had her in prison again: but others it seems so eagerly desired her liberty, that she was discharged a second time, though her husband's goods and money were seized. How a prisoner, who spoke some-

thing in his own defence, was threatened to be gagged, how girls were sent to the house of correction, and how Armorer coming in winter-time into the meeting, and having gotten a bucket of water in the room, he himself threw it with a nasty bowl in the faces of some young maidens, I cursorily skip over. He seemed exceedingly offended at Anne Curtis, who being a witty woman, did not omit, when occasion was offered, to tell of his uncivil behaviour: and therefore he soon had her in jail again; and when it was proposed in the summer-time to discharge some of the prisoners, because of the extreme hot weather, provided they gave security, "No," said Armorer, "Mrs. Curtis shall not go out, though she would give security: but she shall lie in jail till she rot." But how wicked soever he was, yet he could not prevent, all his exorbitant carriage against the the Quakers being published in print.

But such behaviour was at that time no rare or uncommon thing; for since persecution was continually cloaked with a pretence of rebellion and sedition all over the country, such were found, who to their utmost power did persecute the Quakers so called; as among others, one Henry Marshall, priest at Crosthwait in Westmoreland, who being also a prebendary, and having several benefices, yet how great soever his revenues were, kept poor people of

that persuasion in prison for not paying tithes to him ; and once he said very presumptuously from the pulpit, that not one Quaker should be left alive in England. But this his temerity he did not outlive long : for as he was going half undressed to his chamber to bed, he fell down stairs, as was concluded from the circumstances ; for he was found lying on the floor, with his skull broken, wrestling with death, without being able to speak one word ; and being taken up he died, leaving his wife and children in such a condition, that by reason of debts they fell into poverty.

About this time a certain popish author, who expressed his name no further than with the letters A. S. gave forth a book called, " The Reconciler of Religions : or, A Decider of all Controversies in Matters of Faith." Josiah Coale, who was very zealous for religion, and well saw what this author aimed at, answered him by a book that appeared in print, with the title of, *The Whore unveiled : or, The Mystery of the Deceit of the Church of Rome revealed.* Now although the said A. S. chiefly struck at the Quakers, as the worst of heretics, falsely perverting their doctrine, as importing, that the same Spirit that reproved Judas of sin, did also induce him to desperation, and to hang himself ; yet he omitted not to encounter the doctrine of other Protestant societies : and

the Roman church he stated as the true church, from which they were unjustly departed, and to which they must all return again: for the Roman, said he, was the true church, and not any other; she was the holy Catholic and apostolical church, that was infallible, and could not err; and had the power to work miracles, He also asserted, that she was one in matters of faith, that she was governed by one invisible head Christ, and by a visible head, the pope; and that therefore she was the true church. Now forasmuch as he held forth at large these and several other positions, so Josiah Coale did not omit to answer all these pretences distinctly and emphatically; for he was an undaunted and zealous disputant. Besides the superstition, idolatry, and cruel persecution of the Roman church, which had taken away the lives of many thousands of honest and pious people, supplied abundant matter to Josiah Coale, to shew the papal errors, and clearly to prove her to be the false church. For though he did not deny that the true church was Catholic, or universal, yet he denied that the universality of the church of Rome was a sufficient argument to prove her to be the true church. What church (thus he queried) is more universal than the great whore the false church, who had a name written, Mystery Babylon the Great, the Mother of Harlots, and Abomina-

tions of the Earth? Who sits upon the waters, which are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues? And did not the whole world wonder after the beast that carried the whore? Did she not sit as a queen over them all, with her fair profession, or golden cup in her hand, full of abominations, and filthiness of her fornication? And did not all the inhabitants of the earth, and the kings of the earth, drink of the wine of her fornication and commit fornication with her? Mark, how universal was this great whore, the false church; and how confident she was: for she said in her heart that she should see no sorrow; and she glorified herself, and reigned over the kings of the earth, Is not this the very state of the church of Rome at this day? Doth she not reign over the kings of the earth? And hath she not done so long, even for many ages? And how she hath exercised authority over kings, may appear from the case of the emperor Frederick, who was fain to hold the pope's stirrup while he got on horseback. And did not the great whore, which John saw, drink the blood of the saints and martyrs of Jesus. Surely the histories of many generations past testify this. And was she not to have blood given her to drink? As may appear not obscurely from Rev. xvii. 6. At this rate Josiah Coale encountered the masked A. S. but in a more copious way;

and thus he answered his assertions. To that, that the church of Rome should always remain to the end of the world: and that therefore she was infallible: J. Coale said, that the bare affirmation of A. S. was no proof, except he would produce that saying of the mother of harlots, "I sit as a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow." But indeed that would be a very pitiful argument to prove the church of Rome infallible, unless she was first proved to be the true church. And as J. Coale answered these and other objections at large, so he shewed also the vanity of the boast of miracles, of which the church of Rome gloried, and he refuted all the falsities which that anonymous author had belched out against the Quakers, as a people that might be wronged without incurring any danger. But I omit to recite all J. Coale's answers for brevity sake; yet may make mention of a poem which he wrote some time before, when he was prisoner at Launceston in Cornwall, to which the reader is referred, being to be found in Josiah Coale's works at page 111.

Thus zealously J. Coale wrote against popery, and yet such hath been the malice of many, that they represented the Quakers as favourers of the church of Rome, though on many occasions they had effectually shewn the contrary. But their enemies endeavoured to brand them many

ways, and they left no stone unturned to blacken them : to which sometimes false brethren gave occasion : for about this time there were many of the adherents of John Perrot, who often ill treated, and spoke evil of those who did not approve their absurdities. This befel Richard Farnsworth, one of the first preachers among those called Quakers, though he was a man of a notable gift, and on his dying bed he gave evidences of a firm and steadfast trust in God ; for it was not long before this time that he fell sick, and died in London. Among the many expressions which signified his good frame of mind, and the divine consolation he felt, were also these words, that were taken in writing from his mouth.

“ Friends,

“ God hath been mightily with me, and hath stood by me at this time ; and his presence and power hath accompanied me all along though some think I am under a cloud for something. But God hath appeared for the owning of our testimony, and hath broken in upon me as a flood, and I am filled with his love more than I am able to express ; and God has really appeared for us,” &c.

This he spoke but a short time before his de-

parture; and exhorted his friends to faithfulness and steadfastness, and that nothing might be suffered to creep in of another nature than the truth they professed, to intermix therewith, saying, "No linsey-woolsey garment must be worn." Some more consolatory words he spoke, and his last testimony was a seal unto all the former testimonies he had given for the Lord. And after having lain yet an hour or two, he slept in peace with the Lord, and left a good reputation behind, with those who truly were acquainted with him, and knew how zealously he had laboured in the ministry of the gospel for many years.

Now I return again to G. Fox who was this year not only in Wales, but in several other places, without being imprisoned, although at Shrewsbury, where he had a great meeting, the officers being called together by the mayor, consulted what to do against him, since it was said, the great Quaker of England was come to town. But they could not agree among themselves, some being for imprisoning him, and others for letting him alone: and they being thus divided, he escaped their hands.

As several eminent men among those called Quakers, were taken away by death, so others came in who filled their places; among these, and none of the least, was Robert Barclay, son of colonel David Barclay, descended from the

ancient and famous family of the Barclays, and Katharine Gordon, from the house of the dukes of Gordon. This his son Robert being born at Edinburgh, in the year 1648, was educated in France, and trained up in literature, having lived some years with his uncle at Paris, where the Papists were very active to bring him over to their religion. But though in that tender age he seemed a little to hearken to them, yet growing up in years, and so advancing in knowledge, he soon obtained a clear sight of their errors. During his stay in France, he not only became master of the French, but also of the Latin tongue; and after he had been instructed in the languages of the learned, and other parts of human literature, he returned to Scotland: but during his absence, his father had received the doctrine of the Quakers, and shewed by his pious behaviour, that he had not therein acted inconsiderately. Robert Barclay having attained the age of nineteen years, and being come to a good maturity of understanding, found so much satisfaction in the religion his father made profession of, that he also embraced it, and openly shewed before all the world, that the despised name of Quakers, could not hinder him from maintaining boldly that which he now apprehended to be truth. Nay, he grew so zealous and valiant in the doctrine he now professed, that he became a public promulgator of it; and

often engaged in disputes with the scholars, not only verbally, but also by writing; for he was so skilled in school learning, that he was able to encounter the learned with their own weapons, and of such quick apprehension, as not to be inferior to the refined wits: his meekness also was eminent; and these qualifications were accompanied with so taking a carriage, as rendered him very acceptable to others. And though his natural abilities were great enough to have made him surpass others in human learning, and so to have become famous among men, yet he so little valued that knowledge, that he in no wise endeavoured to be distinguished on that account. But his chief aim was to advance in real godliness, as the conversation I had with him hath undoubtedly assured me: for I was well acquainted with him; as also with Roger Haydock of Lancashire, a learned and intelligent man, who about this time came to enter into society with those called Quakers, whose doctrine his eldest brother John, had received before him. But it so happened, that Roger coming once to his father's house, was by his mother put on to discourse with his brother John, in hopes that thereby he might have been drawn off from the way of the Quakers, But John gave such weighty reasons for what he asserted to be truth, that he quickly put Roger to silence, which so displeased his mother, who was incli-

ned to the Presbyterian way, that she blamed him for not having held it out longer against his brother : but he told her, "It is truth, I dare not speak against it." Being thus convinced, he also became a public professor of the doctrine of the Quakers, and in time a zealous preacher of it too. And he being a man of great parts, well read, and full of matter, many times engaged in disputes with the priests, sometimes making use of his pen also to that end ; for he was an unwearied labourer, and suffered the spoiling of his goods, and several imprisonments, and though he was attended with bodily weaknesses, yet he did not use to spare himself, but travelled much to visit the churches in England, Scotland, Ireland, Holland, &c. And he continued steadfast to the end of his days ; not only for which, but also because of a special affection he bore me, [his remembrance is dear to me still.

I must now make some mention again of Miles Halhead, several times named in this history, who this year coming into Devonshire, and being brought before the magistrates, it was asked him, what business he (who dwelt in Westmoreland) had in Devonshire ? To which he answered, that he was come there to see his old friends, whom formerly about ten years ago he had acquaintance with. One of the magistrates asked him, what were the names of those

friends he meant? To which he returned, "One sir John Coplestone, who was then high sheriff of Devonshire; John Page, who was mayor of Plymouth; one justice Howel, who was then the judge of the sessions of Exeter, and one colonel Buffet, who was also a justice at that time." One of the magistrates then said to the others, "Truly, gentlemen, though this man calls these men his friends, yet they have been his persecutors." Another of the magistrates then gave him an account, into what pitiful condition those men were fallen, and how they lost their estates: nay, Buffet had been committed to prison for high treason, and was escaped out of jail, and not to be seen in his own country. And further he said to Halhead, "Thus I have given you a true account of your old friends; if these men were your persecutors, you may be sure they will trouble you no more: for if they that trouble you and persecute you, have no better fortune than these men, I wish that neither I, nor any of my friends, may have any hand in persecuting of you." And thus these discreet magistrates suffered him to go his ways, without meddling with him.

Neither was persecution now generally so hot in England as it had been before, yet the Presbyterians and some others durst not keep public meetings, lest they should be fined; but at times when they have met for worship, they

have had tobacco-pipes, bread and cheese, and cold meat on the table, having agreed before hand, that if the officers came in upon them, they should leave their preaching and praying, and fall to their meat. This made G. Fox say to one Pocock, whose wife was one of his friends, "Is not this a shame to you, who persecuted and imprisoned us, and spoiled our goods, because we would not follow you, and be of your religion, and called us house-creepers?" "Why," said Pocock, "we must be wise as serpents." To which G. Fox returned, "This is the serpent's wisdom indeed. Who would ever have thought, that you Presbyterians, and Independents, who persecuted and imprisoned others, for not following your religion, now should flinch away yourselves, and not stand to, and own your own religion."

G. Fox travelled this year through England, and visited his friends in their meetings. But I pass by his occurrences.

This year also came forth the perpetual edict so called, in Holland, made as the title recites, for the maintenance of liberty, and for preservation of the unity, and the common quiet of the country of Holland and West Friesland. By this edict, the chief command of the military forces of the states, and the stadtholdership [or deputyship] were separated. This was on purpose to prevent the prince of Orange's be-

coming too potent, for hereupon followed the suppression of the stadtholdership. But how strong soever this law was made, and confirmed by oaths, yet afterwards it was broke by the instigation of the rabble, as will be seen in its due time. This year also a peace was concluded between England and Holland, not long after the Dutch had burnt some of the king's ships in the Thames.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

THE NINTH BOOK.

IN the beginning of the year 1668, William Penn, son of admiral sir William Penn, began to shew himself openly an adherer to, and asserter of the doctrine of those called Quakers. He had been trained up in the university of Oxford, and was afterwards by his father sent into France, where for some time he lived (as himself once told me) with the famous preacher Moyse Amyraut. After a considerable stay in that kingdom, being returned and come into Ireland, he once went to a meeting of those called Quakers, which being disturbed, he, though finely clothed as a young gentleman, and wearing a great perriwig, was with others carried from thence to prison, where by his fellow-prisoners he was more con-

firmed in that doctrine which he already apprehended to be truth. But when it came to be known that he was the son of admiral Penn, he was soon released. This change did not a little grieve his father, who intended to have trained him up for the court ; but now saw his eldest son in the early part (being about the twenty second year) of his age, entered into the society of the despised Quakers. Several means were used, nay even his necessities were withheld from him, to draw him off, if possible, and bring him to other resolutions. But all devices and wiles proved in vain : for he continued steadfast, and conversed much with Josiah Coale, who likewise in his younger years came over to the Quakers.

This summer Stephen Crisp was prisoner at Ipswich, where the number of friends was considerably increased by his ministry. I, with some other friends of Holland, visited him there in prison, and we found him in a cheerful condition, as well contented as if he had been at liberty : for he suffered for the ministry of the gospel, and continued to preach in prison when his friends came to visit him.

The journey which G. Fox made this year through England and Wales I pass by. The latter part of the summer he returned to London, where with great satisfaction I heard him preach several times before a numerous audi-

tory: for about that time, the meetings of dissenters were not disturbed in London, but all was so quiet, that the Quakers so called, were suffered to build a large meeting-place in Gracechurch street, where the first time a meeting was kept, I was present, and saw G. Fox, and heard him preach there, besides some others.

Whilst he was in London, he paid a visit to Esquire Marsh, who now was a justice of the peace in Middlesex, and it so happened that he was at dinner when G. Fox came to his house, which so pleased him, that he kindly invited him to sit down with him to dinner, but G. Fox courteously excused himself. There were at that time several great persons at table with justice Marsh, who said to one of them, (a Papist) "Here is a Quaker you have not seen before." From this the said Papist took occasion to ask G. Fox, whether he did own the christening of children? To which G. Fox answered, there was no Scripture for any such practice. What! said he, not for christening children? Nay, replied G. Fox, the one baptism by the one Spirit into one body, we own; but to throw a little water on a child's face, and to call that baptizing and christening it, there is no Scripture for that. Then the Roman Catholic asked him, whether he did not own the Catholic Faith? Yes, said G. Fox,

but he added, that neither the pope nor the Papists were in that Catholic Faith; since the true faith worked by love, and purified the heart; and if they were in that faith which gives victory, by which they might have access to God, they would not talk to the people of a purgatory after death; neither would they ever use prisons, racks, or fines, to force others to their religion: because that was not the practice of the apostles and primitive christians; but it was the practice of the faithless Jews and heathens, to use such forcing means. "But," continued G. Fox, "seeing thou art a great and leading man among the Papists, and sayest, there is no salvation but in your church, I desire to know of thee, what it is that bringeth salvation in your church." To this the Roman Catholic answered, a good life: and nothing else? said G. Fox. Yes, replied the other, good works. "Is this your doctrine and principle?" said G. Fox. "Yes," said he. Then G. Fox replied, "Neither thou, nor the pope, nor any of the Papists know, what it is that brings salvation." Then the Roman Catholic asked him, what brings salvation into your church? G. Fox answered, that which brought salvation to the church in the apostles' days, namely the grace of God, which the Scripture says brings salvation, and hath appeared to all men; and teaches us to deny ungodliness, and

worldly lusts, and to live godly, righteously, and soberly in this present world. By this it appears, it is not the good works, nor the good life, that brings the salvation, but the grace. What! said the Roman Catholic, doth this grace, that brings salvation, appear unto all men? Yes, said G. Fox. I deny that returned the other. All that deny that, replied G. Fox, are sect-makers, and are not in the universal faith, grace, and truth, which the apostles were in. Then the Roman Catholic began to speak about the mother church, which gave occasion to much discourse, and G. Fox asserted, that if any outward place had claim to be the mother-church, above all other churches, then Jerusalem had much more right to it than Rome. But in conclusion he said, that there was no other mother-church but Jerusalem, which is above, and is free, and which is the mother of us all, as saith the apostle. Upon this subject G. Fox did so paraphrase, that Esquire Marsh said at length to the Roman Catholic, O you do not know this man. If he would but come to church now and then, he would be a brave man.

After some other discourse together, G. Fox got an opportunity to go aside with the said Marsh into another room, and to desire that he who had much of the management of affairs, would prevent the persecution of his friends as

much as possibly he could. Marsh shewed himself not averse to this, but said, he was in a straight how to act between the Quakers and some other dissenters. "For," said he, "you say ye cannot swear, and the Independents, Baptists, and fifth monarchy people, say also, they cannot swear." To this G. Fox said, "I will shew thee, how to distinguish: the members of those societies thou speakest of, do swear in some cases, but we cannot swear in any case. If any one should steal their cows or horses, and thou shouldst ask them, whether they would swear they were theirs; many of them would readily do it. But if thou triest our friends, they cannot swear for their own goods. Therefore when thou putttest the oath of allegiance to any of them, ask them whether they can swear in any other case; as for their cow or horse? Which, if they be really of us, they cannot do, though they can bear witness to the truth." Then G. Fox gave him a relation of a trial in Berkshire, viz. "A thief having stolen two beasts from one of those called Quakers, was imprisoned; but somebody having informed the judge, that the man that prosecuted was a Quaker, and he (the judge) perceiving that he would not swear, would not hear what the man could say, but tendered him the oath of allegiance and supremacy, which

the said Quaker refusing, the judge premunired him, and let the thief go free."

Esquire Marsh having heard this relation, said, that judge was a wicked man. And by what G. Fox had told him, he sufficiently perceived how he might distinguish between the Quakers and other people. True it is, the Baptists in those days made some profession of the unlawfulness of swearing, but when they came to be tried on that account, they soon desisted from that part of their profession, as will be shewn more at large in the sequel. But they and the Independents, &c. were very loath to take the oath of allegiance, because of a grudge they had to government; and this was well known to those that were at the helm. But the innocent Quakers were continually exposed to the malice of their persecutors, and bore the hardest shock of the laws made against dissenters. But now justice Marsh did not omit to free the Quakers from persecution as much as was in his power: for he kept several from being premunired in those parts where he was a justice. And when sometimes he could not avoid sending those that were brought before him to prison, he sent some only for a few hours, or for a night. And even this was such hard work to him, that at length he told the king, he had sent some of the Quakers to

prison contrary to his conscience, and that he could not do so any more. He also advised the king to give liberty of conscience; and he was so serviceable to stop the violence of persecution, that about this time little was heard about disturbing of meetings.

About the forepart of this year, (if I mistake not) there happened a case at Edmondsbury, which I cannot well pass by in silence, viz. A certain young woman being delivered of a bastard child, destroyed it, and was therefore committed to prison; whilst she was in jail, it is said William Bennit, a prisoner for conscience sake, came to her, and in discourse asked her, whether during the course of her life, she had not many times transgressed against her conscience? And whether she had not often thereupon felt secret checks and inward reproofs, and been troubled in her mind because of the evil committed; and this he did in such a convincing way, that she not only assented to what he laid before her, but his discourse so reached her heart, that she came clearly to see, that if she had not been so stubborn and disobedient to those inward reproofs, in all probability she would not have come to such a miserable fall as now she had: for man not desiring the knowledge of God's ways, and departing from him, is left helpless, and cannot keep himself from evil, though it may be such as formerly he would

have abhorred in the highest degree, and have said with Hazael, "What, is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing?" W. Bennit thus opening matters to her, did by his wholesome admonition so work upon her mind, that she who never had conversed with the Quakers and was altogether ignorant of their doctrine, now come to apprehend that it was the grace of God that brings salvation, which she so often had withstood; and that this grace had not yet quite forsaken her, but now made her sensible of the greatness of her transgression. This consideration wrought so powerfully, that from a most grievous sinner, she became a true penitent, and with hearty sorrow she cried to the Lord, that it might please him not to hide his countenance. And continuing in this state of humiliation, and sincere repentance, and persevering in supplication, she felt in time some ease; and giving heed to the exhortations of the said Bennit she attained at length to a sure hope of forgiveness by the precious blood of the immaculate Lamb, who died for the sins of the world.

Of this she gave manifest proofs at her trial before judge Matthew Hale, who having heard how penitent she was, would fain have spared her, having on purpose caused to be inserted in the indictment, that she had committed the fact wilfully and designedly. But she being asked

according to the form, guilty, or not guilty? readily answered, guilty. This astonished the judge, who purposely had got the words wilfully and designedly inserted in the indictment, that from thence she might find occasion to deny the charge, and so to quash the indictment; and therefore he told her, that she seemed not duly to consider what she said; since it could not well be believed that such a one as she, who it may be inconsiderately had roughly handled her child, should have killed it wilfully and designedly. Here the judge opened a back door for her to avoid the penalty of death. But now the fear of God had got so much room in her heart that no tampering would do; no fig-leaves could serve her for a cover; for she knew that this would have been adding sin to sin and to cover herself with a covering, but not of God's spirit; and therefore she plainly signified to the court, that indeed she had committed the mischievous fact intendedly, thereby to hide her shame: and that she having sinned thus grievously, and being affected now with true repentance, she could by no means excuse herself, but was willing to undergo the punishment the law required: and therefore she could not but acknowledge herself guilty, since otherwise how could she expect forgiveness from the Lord? This undisguised and free confession being spoken with a serious countenance, did so

affect the judge, that tears trickling down his face, he sorrowfully said, woman, such a case as this I never met with before ; perhaps you, who are but young, and speak so piously, as being struck to the heart with repentance, might yet do much good in the world ; but now you force me, that *ex officio* I must pronounce sentence of death against you, since you will admit of no excuse. Standing to what she had said, the judge pronounced sentence of death. And when afterward she came to the place of execution, she made a pathetic speech to the people, exhorting the spectators, especially those that were young, "To have the fear of God before their eyes, to give heed to his secret reproofs for evil, and so not to grieve and resist the good Spirit of the Lord : which she herself not having timely minded, it had made her run on in evil, and thus proceeding from wickedness to wickedness, it had brought her to this dismal exit. But since she firmly trusted to God's infinite mercy, nay surely believed her sins, though of a bloody dye, to be washed off by the pure blood of Christ, she could contentedly depart this life." Thus she preached at the gallows the doctrine of the Quakers so called, and gave heart melting proofs, that her immortal soul was to enter into paradise, as well as anciently that of the thief on the cross. I have been credibly informed by a person who had it

from the mouths of such as were present at the execution, that in her request to God she prayed, that it might please him to give a visible sign, that she was received into his favour. And that though it was then a cloudy day, yet immediately after she was turned off, the clouds broke a little and the sun for a few moments shined upon her face, and presently after ceased shining, and the sky continued overcast. She thus in a serious frame of mind suffered death, which her crime justly deserved.

This year in London died Thomas Loe, a man of an excellent gift, who zealously had laboured in the ministry of the gospel in Ireland, and by his preaching had brought many over into the society of his friends, and among others also William Penn, to whom on his death bed he spoke thus, "Bear thy cross and stand faithful to God; then he will give thee an everlasting crown of glory, that shall not be taken from thee. There is no other way which shall prosper, than that which the holy men of old have walked in. God hath brought immortality to light, and life immortal is felt. Glory, glory to him, for he is worthy of it. His love overcomes my heart, nay, my cup runs over: glory be to his name for ever." No wonder that this speech of one that was at the point of entering into eternity, confirmed William Penn exceedingly in that doctrine which he had now embraced as

truth. At another time Thomas Loe said to his friends that stood at his bed-side, "Be not troubled, the love of God overcomes my heart." And to George Whitehead and others he said, "The Lord is good to me; this day he hath covered me with his glory. I am weak, but am refreshed to see you. The Lord is good to me." Another friend asking him how it was with him, he answered, "I am near leaving you, I think; but as well in my spirit as I can desire; I bless the Lord: I never saw more of the glory of God, than I have done this day." And when it was thought that he was departing, he began to sing praises to the Lord, saying, "Glory, glory to thee for ever!" which did not a little affect the standers by, thus to hear a dying man sing. And in this glorious state he departed this life the 5th of October.

Now since persecution was at a stand this year in London, those of other persuasions sometimes bitterly inveighed from the pulpit against the Quakers, and would challenge them also to a dispute. William Burnet and Jeremy Ives, eminent Baptist teachers, had encountered George Whitehead this summer at Chertsey and Horn in Surry, about the resurrection, and Christs' body in heaven, endeavouring to blacken the Quakers in respect of those points, because they kept to Scripture words, from which the

others departing, advanced very gross absurdities.

One Thomas Vincent, a Presbyterian teacher was much disturbed because some of his auditory were gone over to the society of the Quakers; and to render them odious, he and his fellow teachers accused them of erroneous doctrine concerning the Trinity; and this was chiefly because they did not approve of such expressions as were not to be found in the holy Scriptures, as that of Three Persons. On this subject a dispute was held in the Presbyterian meeting house in London, between the said Vincent on one side, and George Whitehead on the other. That which Vincent and his brethren advanced first, was an accusation, that the Quakers held damnable doctrine. George Whitehead denying this, would have given the people information of the principles of his friends; but Vincent instead thereof, stated this question, "Do you own one Godhead, subsisting in three distinct and separate persons?" Whitehead and those with him denying this as an unscriptural doctrine, Vincent framed this syllogism.

"There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the holy Ghost; and these three are One.

"These are either three manifestations, three

operations, three substances, or three somethings else besides subsistences.

“ But they are not three manifestations, three operations, three substances, not three anythings else besides subsistences.

Ergo, “ Three subsistences. ”

G. Whitehead rejected these terms, as not to be found in Scripture, not deducible from the 1 Joh. v. 7. the place Vincent instanced. And therefore he desired an explanation of those terms, insomuch as God did not use to wrap up his truths in heathenish metaphysics, but in plain language. But whatever was said, no better explanation could be obtained, than person, or the mode of a substance. G. Whitehead and William Penn, who also was there, alleged several places from Scripture, proving God's complete unity: and they queried how God was to be understood, if in an abstracted sense from his substance. But instead of answering the question, they concluded it a point more fit for admiration than disputation. Then W. Penn denied the minor proposition of Vincent's syllogism; “ for ” said he, “ no one substance can have three distinct subsistences, and preserve its own unity; for every subsistence will have its own substance; so that three distinct subsistences, or manners of beings will require three distinct substances or beings; consequently three Gods: for if the infinite godhead sub-

sists in three separate manners or forms, then is not any one of them a perfect and complete subsistence without the other two: so parts, and something finite is in God; or if infinite, then three distinct infinite subsistences; and what is this, but to assert three Gods, since none is infinite but God? On the contrary, there being an inseparability betwixt the substance and its subsistence, the unity of substance will not admit a Trinity of incommunicable or distinct subsistences."

After several words on both sides, G. Whitehead, to bring this strange doctrine nearer to the capacity of the people, comparing their three persons to three apostles, said, he did not understand, how Paul, Peter, and John could be three persons and one apostle. At which one Maddocks, one of Vincent's assistants, framed this odd syllogism; "He that scornfully and reproachfully compares our doctrine of the blessed Trinity of the Father, Son, and Spirit, one in essence, but three in persons, to three finite men, as Paul, Peter, and John, is a blasphemer. But you G. Whitehead have done so. Ergo. A rash conclusion; but how firm, let the judicious reader determine. I have no mind to enter farther into this quarrel, since the parties on both sides went away unsatisfied: for Vincent had not been able to prove the doctrine of the Quakers damnable, as he had asserted.

But his passion had transported him, as well as when he said from the pulpit of those of his society, that he had as leave they should go to a bawdy-house, as to frequent the Quakers' meetings, because of their erroneous and damnable doctrines. And pointing to the window he farther said, "If there should stand a cup of poison, I would rather drink it, than suck in their damnable doctrines." But this untimely zeal did not profit him; for it gave occasion to some of his hearers to inquire into the doctrines of the Quakers; and thus some came to be convinced of the truth thereof.

Now since the aforesaid dispute made a great noise in London, William Penn published a book with this title, the Sandy Foundation shaken, in which he explained the points controverted, and defended his positions with good reason and the holy Scripture. But yet this book, which he himself spread, caused such a stir, that it was evil spoken of, and not long after he was committed to the Tower, and some thought it was not without his father's being acquainted with it, perhaps to prevent a worse treatment.

This was at the latter end of the year, about which time Josiah Coale fell into a sickness, which took him off the stage of this life; he had languished long, and yet did not at all spare his voice, but was used both in preaching and praying so to raise it, that he spent his natural

strength exceedingly, though he was yet as in a flourishing age ; nay, it was his life and joy to declare the gospel, and to proclaim the word of God, for which he had an excellent ability : and when he spoke to the ungodly world, an awful gravity appeared in his countenance, and his words were like a hammer and a sharp sword. But though he was as a son of thunder, yet his agreeable speech flowed from his mouth like a pleasant stream, to the consolation and comfort of pious souls. Oh ! how pathetically have I heard him pray, when he, as transported and ravished, humbly beseeched God, that it might please him to reach to the hard hearted, to support the godly, and to preserve them steadfast : nay, with what a charming and melodious voice did he sound forth the praises of the Most High in his public prayers ! but his work was now done, he had finished his course, and a time of rest from his labours was come. Although he grew weak, yet his manly spirit and great courage bore him up for some time ; but his disease, which seemed to be a kind of consumption, at length so increased, that he was fain to keep within doors for several weeks ; then mending a little, he went abroad again, and came into a meeting in London, where I beheld his countenance much unlike what it used to be, for it clearly manifested his bodily indisposition : nevertheless he preached with a godly zeal, and

his salutary exhortations flowed like a stream from his lips, which seemed to be touched with a coal from the altar of heaven, whilst he was preaching the gospel, to the edification of his hearers. Now he began to lift up his voice again to that degree, that judging from thence, one would have supposed him to have been pretty well restored : but the ground of his distemper not being taken away, he was soon necessitated to keep at home again ; and his natural strength wasted away so fast, and he so declined, that his death began to be expected, which not very long after fell out accordingly. A little before he died, G. Fox being come to see him, asked him, whether any thing lay upon him to write to the friends in England ? But he signified that he had nothing to write, only desired that his love might be remembered to them, and desired G. Fox to pray to God, that he might have an easy passage, for he felt his end approaching. He having complied with his desire, and seeing him begin to be heavy, bid him go and lie on the bed ; which J. Coale did : but finding this, as it seems, more uneasy, with the help of his friends he rose again, and sat on the side of the bed ; and his friends sitting about him, he felt himself so lively and powerfully raised, that he spoke to them after this manner :

“Well, friends, be faithful to God, and have a single eye to his glory, and seek nothing for self, or your own glory; and if any thing of that arise, judge it down by the power of the Lord God, that so ye may be clear in his sight, and answer his witness, in all people; then will ye have the reward of life. For my part, I have walked in faithfulness with the Lord; and I have thus far finished my testimony, and have peace with the Lord: his majesty is with me, and his crown of life is upon me. So mind my love to all friends.” Then he ceased speaking; and a little time after he said to Stephen Crisp, “Dear heart, keep low in the holy seed of God, and that will be thy crown for ever.” After a short pause, he said, “A minister of Christ must walk as he walked.”

A little afterwards fainting, and being stayed by his friends, he departed in their arms, without the least sigh or groan, but as one falling into a sweet sleep; and being filled with heavenly consolations, he passed from this mortal life to that which is immortal, having attained the age of thirty five years and two months, and preached the gospel about twelve years. He had travelled much in the West Indies, sustained great hardships, and laboured in the ministry at his own charge, being freely given up to spend his substance in the service of the Lord. And though he went through many

persecutions, imprisonments, and other adversities, yet he was not afraid of danger, but always valiant; and continued in an unmarried state, that so he might the more freely labour in the heavenly harvest, and many were converted by his ministry. He lived to see the desire of his heart accomplished; for when first he was raised up to true godliness, being under the sense of his former transgressions, he cried to the Lord for deliverance, and said with David, "If thou, O God, wilt help me thoroughly, then will I teach transgressors thy ways, and sinners shall be converted unto thee." He had been long in a mournful state, though naturally of a cheerful temper; and having himself passed through a path of sorrow, he was the more able to comfort the mourners of Zion. The church was very sensible of this great loss; and I have reason to think his corpse was attended to the grave by more than a thousand of his friends, among whom I was then one; and his burial being very public and well known, drew the eyes of many spectators towards it. Let none think it strange, that I have here expatiated somewhat largely, seeing he was indeed dear to me, and I have his kind usage yet in fresh remembrance; for the piety of my mother, whom he had seen in England, caused him to give me marks of the esteem he bore to her memory: and his excellent endowments so

affected me, that I was eager to go to that meeting where I heard he was likely to be ; nay, I imagined I saw something in him so extraordinarily valuable, that I bore a very reverent respect to him, and the more, because difference of age deprived me of a familiar conversation with him.

On the 20th of the 11th month called January, 1668, Francis Howgil, after a sickness of nine days, died in the prison at Appleby, where he had been kept five years. During his sickness he was in perfectly good understanding, and often very fervent in prayer, uttering many comfortable expressions, to the great refreshment of those that were about him. He was often heard to say, "That he was content to die, and praised God for the many sweet enjoyments and refreshments he had received in that his prison-house bed, whereon he lay, freely forgiving all who had a hand in his restraint." "And," said he, "This was the place of my first imprisonment for the truth, here in this town ; and if it be the place of my laying down the body, I am content." Several persons of note, inhabitants of Appleby, as the mayor, and others, came to visit him ; and some of them praying that God might speak peace to his soul, he returned, he hath done it. About two days before his departure, being attended by his wife, and several of his friends, he said to them :

“Friends, as to matter of words, ye must not expect much more from me, neither is there any great need of it, or to speak of matters of faith to you who are satisfied: only that ye remember my dear love to all friends who inquire of me; for I ever loved friends well, or any in whom truth appeared. Truly God will own his people, as he hath ever hitherto done, and as we have daily witnessed: for no sooner had they made that act of banishment, to the great suffering of many good friends, but the Lord stirred up enemies against them, whereby the violence of their hands was taken off. I say again, God will own his people, even all those that are faithful. And as for me, I am well, and content to die. I am not at all afraid of death; but one thing was of late in my heart, and that I intended to have written to George Fox and others, even that which I have observed, viz. that this generation passeth fast away: we see many good and precious friends within these few years have been taken from us; and therefore friends had need to watch, and be very faithful, so that we may leave a good, and not a bad savour, to the next succeeding generation; for we see that it is but a little time that any of us have to stay here.” A few hours before he departed, some friends from other places being come to visit him, he inquired about their welfare, and prayed fervently, with

many heavenly expressions, that the Lord by his mighty power, might preserve them out of all such things as would spot and defile. His voice then by reason of his great weakness failed him, and a little after he recovering some strength, said, "I have sought the way of the Lord from a child, and lived innocently as among men: and if any inquire concerning my latter end, let them know that I die in the faith in which I lived, and suffered for." After these words, he spoke some others in prayer to God, and so sweetly finished his days in peace with the Lord, in the fiftieth year of his age.

He left a good name behind him amongst all who knew him.—Sometime before his sickness, considering this mutable state, and finding in himself some decay of nature, he made his will, in which, as his love was very dear to his brethren, with whom he had laboured in the ministry, so he gave to each of them a remembrance of his love; he left also a legacy to his poor friends in those parts where he lived.

For although his moveable goods were forfeited to the king for ever, yet the confiscation of his real estate was only for life: so that from thence having something left, he could dispose of it by his will.

During his imprisonment, he neglected not to comfort and strengthen his brethren by writing, effecting that by his pen, which he could not by

word of mouth: he also defended his doctrine against those who opposed the same; and among others, he wrote a large treatise against oaths, contradicting the opinion of those who account it lawful to swear under the gospel.

About two years before his disease, he wrote an epistle of advice and counsel as his last will and testament to his daughter Abigail, a child whom he much loved, who was born in a time of deep exercises and trouble, which nevertheless by the Lord's goodness he was patiently brought through; wherefore he named this child Abigail, signifying the father's joy. In this testament he gave her instructions for the future conduct of her life, the beginning whereof is thus:

“ Daughter Abigail, this is for thee to observe and keep, and take heed unto all the days of thy life, for the regulating thy life and conversation in this world, that thy life may be happy, and thy end blessed, and God glorified by thee in thy generation. I was not born to great possessions, or did inherit great matters in this world; but the Lord hath always endowed me with sufficiency and enough, and hath been as a tender father unto me, because my heart trusted in him, and did love the way of righteousness from a child.—My counsel unto thee is, that thou remember thy Creator in the

days of thy youth, and fear the Lord in thy youth, and learn to know him and serve him all thy days: first seek the kingdom of God and the righteousness thereof; it is not far from thee, it is within thee; it consists in life and power, and it stands in righteousness, truth, and equity, justice mercy, long suffering, patience, love, light, and holiness, this is the being and centre thereof; therefore seek not lo here, or lo there without thee, in this or that outward observation, for many seek there and never find it; but seek and thou shalt find, wait and thou shalt receive. If thou inquire, in what must I seek? And what must I wait in? And how must I seek? I inform thee, that thou must silence all thy own thoughts, and thou must turn thy mind to that which is pure, and holy, and good within thyself, and seek and wait in that in the light of Jesus Christ, wherewith thou art enlightened, which shews thee when thou dost evil, and checks and reproves; take heed unto that, and it will shew the evil motions and thoughts; and as thou lovest it, it will subdue them, and preserve thee for the time to come out of evil: for though thou be born into the world a reasonable creature, yet thou must be born again and be made a new creature, or else thou canst not enter into God's kingdom; thou must know the seed of the kingdom in thyself, of which thou must be born and formed again into

God's image. I have told thee God hath sown it in thee, a grain of it, a measure of it, a portion of it, a measure of light and truth, of righteousness and holiness; keep in thy mind to that, and love it, and thou wilt feel the heavenly Father working in thee, and begetting thee to life through Jesus Christ that hath enlightened thee, and thou wilt feel the power of the Lord strengthening thee, in thy little, and making thee to grow in the immortal seed of his kingdom, and outgrow and overgrow all evil, so that thou wilt daily die to that, and have no pleasure in it, but in the Lord, and in his goodness and virtue shed abroad in thy heart, which thou wilt taste and feel within, and have joy and comfort therein: love the Lord with all thy heart and soul, even him that made thee, and gave thee a being, and all things in heaven and in earth; and still wait for the knowledge of him in thyself, he is not far from thee, but near unto thee, and unto all that call upon him in an upright heart; and do thou inquire of thy dear mother, she will inform thee, she knows him, and the way to life and peace, and hearken to her instructions: God is a spirit, of light, and life, and power: he that searcheth the heart, and shews thee when thou dost, or thinkest, or speakest evil, and shews unto man or woman their thoughts: that which shews the evil is good, and that which shews a lie is truth; this is within, take heed to

it, this is called God's spirit in the Scripture, believe in it, love it, and it will quicken thy heart to good, and it will subject the evil : here is thy teacher near thee, love it, and if thou act contrary, it will condemn thee ; therefore take heed unto this spirit of truth, and it will enlighten and enliven thee, and will open thy understanding, and give thee to know what God is, and to do that which is good and acceptable in his sight ; this spirit never errs, but leads out of all error into all truth. Be sober minded in thy youth and wait on the Lord within, hearken unto him, God is light immortal, life immortal, truth immortal, an everlasting eternal Spirit : he speaks spiritually and invisibly within the hearts and consciences of men and women ; hear what he speaks, and obey his voice, and thy soul shall live ; fear to offend him, or sin against him, for the wages of sin are death ; therefore prize his love in thy young and tender years, and do thou read the Scriptures, and friends books, and take heed to what thou readest to obey it, as far as thou understandest ; and pray often unto the Lord, that he will give thee his knowledge, and open thy understanding in the things of his kingdom ; search thy heart often with the light of Christ in thee, manifest and bring thy deeds to it, that they may be tried ; and examine thyself, how the case stands betwixt the Lord and thee ; and if thou seest thyself

wrong, humble thyself, and be sorry, and turn unto him, and he will shew thee mercy ; and take heed for the time to come, that thou run not into the same evil again ; keep thy heart clean, watch against the evil in thyself, in that which shews it ; therein there is power, and thereby thou hast power to overcome all evil. And, dear child, mind not the pleasures of sin, which are but for a moment, and the end is misery ; but keep under and cross thy will and affection, so thy mind will have no pleasure in the evil, but in good ; and thou wilt feel the immortal seed springing up in thee, which God's peace and love is to. O child ! these are great and weighty things, not to be slighted. Accompany thyself always with them that fear the Lord, and fear and worship him in spirit and truth, and lead a holy and blameless life and conversation ; deny them not, but love them, and suffer with them. Take heed that thou follow not the hireling teachers, who preach for gain and lucre, and abide not in Christ's doctrine ; believe them not, heed them not, they do people no good ; but thou wilt see them thyself, they have an outside shew of godliness sometimes, but deny the power of God and true holiness ; remember I have told thee, who have had perfect knowledge of them. But be sure that thou let nothing separate thy love from God and his people ; those are his people

that keep his law, and obey Christ's voice, and lead a holy life, and they were ever hated and belied, and persecuted and evil spoken of, always by bad and evil loose people; these are God's people, and his love, and peace, and blessing is with them; do thou grow as a natural branch (up among them) of the living vine, and continue all thy days in obedience unto God's will, and thou wilt feel joy and love in thy heart, which above all things covet after, and thou shalt attain and obtain everlasting peace, which the Lord grant unto thee, according to the riches of his mercy and love, which endure for ever and ever. Amen.

“And now Abigail, concerning thy well-being in this life, this is my advice and counsel unto thee; love thy dear mother, and ever obey her and honour her, and see thou grieve her not; be not stubborn nor wilful, and submit unto her, and be as an obedient child unto her, whose love and care, hath brought too much trouble upon herself; learn in thy youth to read and write, and sew and knit, and all points of good labour that belong to a maid, and flee idleness and sloth, that nourish sin; and as thou growest up in years, labour in the affairs of the country, and beware of pride and riotousness, and curiosity, but be well content with such apparel as thy mother will permit thee, and as thou mayest be a good example unto others.

Be not wanton, nor wild, nor light, but temperate, moderate, and chaste, and not forward in words nor speech, but swift to hear, slow to speak; and do thou always live with thy mother, and be a help unto her, and cherish her in her old age and latter years, that she may be comforted in thee, and her soul may bless thee. Love thy sisters, and be always courteous to them and thy brother, encourage one another in good: and if thou live to be a woman of perfect years, keep thyself unspotted, and let not thy mind out after sports and pastimes, the end of all those is sorrow, neither after young men; if thou have a desire to marry, do not thou seek a husband, but let a husband seek thee; and if thou live in God's fear, and an honest life and virtuous, them that fear God will seek unto thee; let not thy affections out unto every one that proffers love, but be considerate, and above all things, choose one, (if thou dost marry) that loves and fears the Lord, whose conversation thou knowest, and manner and course of life well before thou give consent; be discreet and wise, hide nothing from thy mother, and she will advise thee, no doubt, for thy good; and if she be living marry not without her consent: and if thou join to a husband, be sure thou love him in thy heart, and be obedient unto him, and honour him among all, so will his heart be more to thee and his love increase; grieve him not,

but be gentle, and easy to be intreated, and mind thy own business; and if the Lord give thee children, bring them up in God's fear, and good exercise, and keep them in subjection unto thee, and be an example of virtue and holiness unto them, that the Lord's blessing thou mayest feel in youth and in age, and all thy life long. O Abigail! remember these things, keep in mind these things, read often this writing over, get it copied over, and lay up my words in thy heart, and do them, so wilt thou be happy in this life, and in the life to come: these things I give thee charge to observe, as my mind and will, and counsel unalterable unto thee, as witness hereof I have set my hand,

thy dear father,

Francis Howgil."

The 26th of the 5th
month, 1666.

In the beginning of this year, the members of this society, held a general yearly meeting in London, which since that time, hath been used to be held there annually, in the week called Whitsun week,*because at that time of the year it is commonly best travelling, &c. Several are deputed from all places to this

* It has since been fixed to be held on the second day immediately following the third 1st day in the fifth month.

meeting, and what concerns the church in general, is there treated on.

Persecution for religion seemed now to be at a stand, which displeased some of the most rigid sort of churchmen, which we not only have already, but may again in due place demonstrate.

About this time (as I take it) a certain bishop said occasionally, that the Quakers, by their unlimited freedom, increased much, and therefore it was very needful to take care of them, seeing they often had much greater assemblies than the national church; for, said he, at such a time I preached myself, and there were but a few hearers, when at the same time the Quaker's meeting just by was crowded full; and thereupon he desired them to consider whether it was not high time to stop these sectaries. After he had set forth his matter at large, another lord then present among others, said, that indeed it seemed that the lord bishop had spoken what was very reasonable, that the sectaries had often more hearers than the national church preachers, and that it was not strange to him that it displeased him, since he took so much upon himself; for, said he, his lordship observed, that he preached himself; and the professed, Quakers who had such great assemblies, preached Christ Jesus, and therefore no wonder that they had the more hearers. This

was such a witty turn upon the bishop, as no doubt made him so sensible as not to think fit to enter upon the debate in a doubtful dispute, for it is observable, this lord's turn upon the bishop was chiefly to stop him from promoting persecution.

This spring G. Fox travelling to York, went through several other places in the north of England; and although he came near to his old enemy, Col. Kirby, who had a fit of the gout, and had threatened him, yet he passed on unmolested. So he went to Liverpool, whence he, with some of his friends, passed over for Ireland: among others, were Thomas Briggs and John Stubs; and being arrived in Dublin, he was kindly received by his friends; and journeying into the country, he met with no small opposition from the Papists, (of whom there are many there.) Being come to a certain place, he challenged the jesuits, priests, and monks, to try whether their god, which they make of a wafer, be an immortal God, but they could not be brought to it; wherefore he said, they were worse than Baal's priests, for Baal's priests tried their God. Then he went to Cork, where they had knowledge of his coming, and intended to take him prisoner; for the Quakers in Ireland were many years sharply persecuted, as their brethren were in England, of which to mention all circumstances,

it would make a very large treatise. At this time there were many prisoners at Cork, among whom was Samuel Thornton, with whom I was well acquainted, who being met with his friends in a chamber one first day, the officer Quinnal came and shut the door of the room, and locked them in, to the number of eighty persons, and carried the key to the mayor, Matthew Dean, who gave order that there should neither victuals nor drink be carried to them, and they could only get what was pulled up with ropes through the grate, or thrown in through a hole : under this chamber the soldiers were ordered to keep guard, that none might get away, and they made so great a smoke, that many of the prisoners were sick, among whom were some weakly old people, and some women with child, and nurses, who were almost stifled ; and complaint thereof being made to the mayor, he answered in a scoffing manner, they are all brethren and sisters, let them lie upon one another ; and if they are stifled it is their own fault. Thus they were kept twenty four hours, and afterwards some of them made prisoners.

Solomon Eccles, whom I also knew very well, was this year in prison at Galloway in Ireland, where he was put, by a strange accident. He was an extraordinary zealous man, and what he judged evil he warmly opposed, even to the hazard of his life. This zeal led him to

perform a strange action in a chapel of the Papists without the town; for he went naked above his waist, with a chafing dish of coals and burning brimstone on his head, and entered the chapel when all the people were on their knees to pray to their idol, and spoke as followeth: "Wo to these idolatrous worshippers! God hath sent me this day to warn you, and to shew you what will be your portion except you repent:" which when he had done, he went away to the town, where he was presently made a prisoner. What the benefit of this strange action might be, I leave.

Amongst the martyrs of the reformed, we find some instances of persons, zealous to a strange degree, as of William Gardiner at Lisbon, and Bertrand le Blas at Tournay, whose actions were not less remarkable: for this last his snatching the host from the priest in their church as they were at mass, was certainly a bold attempt, and not praise-worthy, if it was only an act of human contrivance; but I shall leave the judgment thereof unto God, as I account it safest, and the rather, because under the sharpest punishment they could inflict, they seemed not to shrink, but rather to be strengthened. However so sharp a trial did not fall to Eccles's portion, and I think it safer not to judge hastily of this uncommon performance. He was, to my knowledge, a bold and undaunted

man, and before this action in the chapel, as above, he did something of a like nature in London at the fair time, amongst the plays, where he suffered much by the coachmen's whipping him grievously on his naked back; but that could not lay his fervent zeal, which was kindled not only against the immodest and ungodly carriage of the pretended fools, but also against other vanities there used. To what height his zeal carried him, the following instance will shew: he who had been a member of the church of England, and then went to the Presbyterians, and afterwards among the Independents, and after that was a Baptist, had been an eminent musician, so that by his art he could get near 150*l.* a year; but at last being a Quaker, he could not follow for conscience-sake, what he now called his Babylonish trade of music; wherefore he learned to make clothes to get his living by, and sold his musical books and instruments: but (as he declared) he had no peace in his conscience: for observing them to be instruments of vanity, he judged they ought to be destroyed, and therefore bought them again, although they were worth above 20*l.* and carried them, viz. virginals, fiddles, &c. to Tower hill, where laying them together, he set fire to them: but when some who were by endeavoured to hinder him, and to get one of the virginals away, he stamped upon it wit'

his foot, and would not rest until he had destroyed it; and after that he said, he found peace in his conscience, having made an offering of that which he once entirely loved, and in the use of which he was educated; for not only his father and grandfather, but his grandfather's father had been musicians, and he himself had the name of an eminent music master.

Another account we have of his strange zeal: when he saw how the Quakers were belied by William Burnet, Jeremy Ives, and Matthew Kiffin, teachers amongst the Papists, as if they believed not in Christ nor the resurrection, he challenged all the teachers, and priests, and jesuits, openly in a book which he printed, to come to a proof with him who were the true worshippers; first, to fast seven days and seven nights, and neither to eat nor drink; and then the next seven days not to sleep day nor night; but we may well think that none were to be found to enter the lists with him, nor to put themselves on such a test; and although some reckoned him out of his wits, yet he was not, for I remember the time very well, and had many an opportunity both to see and to hear him speak.

I now return to G. Fox at Cork in Ireland, where they intended to take him, nevertheless they let him go unmolested, although he rode through the market, by the mayor's door, who

not only saw him, but said, there goes G. Fox, and yet let him pass quietly. After he had travelled through many places in Ireland, he came again to Dublin, from whence he returned to England, and coming into Gloucestershire, he heard at Nailsworth of a report which had been spread abroad in the country, that he was turned Presbyterian, and they had prepared a pulpit for him in an open yard, where he was to preach. G. Fox hearing this thought it very strange, whereupon he went to the place spoken of, where he indeed found a pulpit; but the case was this. A certain Presbyterian preacher, named John Fox, who went preaching about the country, was to preach there, and it seems some had changed his name from John to George, whereupon it was reported that he was turned from being a Quaker to be a Presbyterian: this begat so great a curiosity in the people, that many went thither to hear this Quaker turned Presbyterian; so this John Fox came to have a great auditory, (of several hundreds) who would not have gone a foot to have heard him, had they known it. Now some hundreds of them hearing afterwards that the real G. F. was not far off at a meeting, they went thither and were sober and attentive; where they were by him directed to the grace of God in themselves which would teach them

and bring them salvation. And when the meeting was over, some of the people said, they liked George Fox the Quaker's preaching, better than G. Fox, the Presbyterian's. Not long after this John Fox was complained of in the house of commons, for having a tumultuous meeting, in which treasonable words were spoken. This John Fox had formerly been priest of Marshfield in Gloucestershire, and being put out of that place, was afterwards permitted by a common-prayer priest to preach sometimes in his steeple-house; at length this Presbyterian priest, presuming too far upon the parish priest's former grant, began to be more bold than welcome, and would have preached there whether the parish priest would or not; which caused a great bustle or contest between the two priests, and their hearers on either sides, in which the common-prayer book was cut to pieces, and it is said some treasonable words were then spoken by some of the followers of this John Fox; which case was quickly put into the newspapers, and some malicious Presbyterians caused it to be so worded as if it had proceeded from G. Fox the Quaker, but some members of the house of commons certified it under their hands, that it was John Fox, formerly priest of Marshfield, who was complained of to be the ringleader of that unlawful assembly.

After this G. F. travelled to Bristol, where he met with Margaret Fell, then a widow, who came thither to visit her daughter Yeomans. He had before this intimated to her his affection, and proposed taking her in marriage at a suitable time ; but though he had a sense in himself, it was of the Lord, yet he did not at first find a freedom to accomplish the same, but all obstructions being now removed, he so proposed the matter, that if she were willing to give her consent, that the same should be accomplished, she might first send for her children ; who being come, he asked both her daughters and their husbands, whether they had any thing against his taking their mother to be his wife ? And they all severally expressed their satisfaction therein. Then he asked Margaret, whether she had performed her husband's will ? And the children, whether, if their mother married, they should lose by it ? The children said, she had answered it to them, and desired him to speak no more of that. So observing they were all well satisfied, he proceeded in his marriage, and took Margaret Fell to wife in a public meeting of friends in Bristol. She was a woman of a noble endowment, and this I know not only by her writings, but I have also heard her preach an hour together, delivering her matter compactly and orderly.

G. F. being married, he staid with his wife

about a week in Bristol, and then they went together to Oldstone, and there taking leave of each other, they parted, she went homeward into the north, and he travelled through Wiltshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Bucks, and so to London; for although now he had a wife, yet he did not neglect his care towards the churches, all the nation over, in the gift which he had received of God, both in word and writing to their edification, and amongst the rest he had a special regard, that the poor might be taken care of, to which end he wrote an epistle in London, to this effect, that poor children should be put forth apprentices to trades, whereby in time, they might help their aged parents, and enable them to bring up their families, and maintain themselves handsomely.

G. Fox stayed not long in London; but the year 1670 being now come, he travelled through Hertfordshire Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and Leicestershire, where he expected to have met with his wife; for he had written her word (if she found it convenient) to meet him there; but instead thereof he understood she was haled out of her house, and carried to Lancaster prison, upon the old premunire, which was executed upon her five years before, from which she was discharged by order of the king and council the last year. Wherefore, after he had visited friends in those counties, he returned to Lon-

don, where he found two of his wife's daughters, whom he hastened to go to the king, to acquaint him how their mother was dealt with, which they did, but met with much difficulty; yet they diligently attended the same, as it behoved them for their mother, who was a mother or overseer of the church also, and therefore of the greater concern: but at last through assiduous application, they got to speak with the king, to whom one of them said, that instead of their waiting upon him to return him thanks for the discharge of their mother, they were now necessitated to make complaint of their mother's being cast into prison a second time. Whereupon the king gave command to sir John Otway, to write to the sheriff of Lancashire, to set her at liberty, which letter G. F. accordingly hastened his daughters with into the country.

The parliament now sitting, made a law, entitled, An Act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles, which is as follows:

“For providing further and more speedy remedies against the growing and dangerous practices of seditious sectaries, and other disloyal persons, who under pretence of tender consciences, have or may at their meetings contrive insurrections (as late experience hath shewn.) (2) Be it enacted by the king's mor

excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, that if any person of the age of sixteen years or upwards, being a subject of this realm, at any time after the tenth day of May next, shall be present at any assembly, conventicle or meeting, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion, in other manner than according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England, in any place within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed, at which conventicle, meeting or assembly, there shall be five persons or more assembled together, over and besides those of the same household, if it be in a house where there is a family inhabiting ; or if it be in a house, field, or place where there is no family inhabiting ; then where any five persons or more, are so assembled, as aforesaid, it shall and may be lawful to and for any one or more justices of the peace of the country, limit, division, corporation or liberty wherein the offence aforesaid shall be committed, or for the chief magistrate of the place where the offence aforesaid shall be committed ; and he and they are hereby required and enjoined upon proof to him or them respectively made of such offence, either by confession of the party, or oath of two witnesses ; (3) (which oath the

said justice and justices of the peace, and chief magistrate respectively, are hereby empowered and required to administer) or by notorious evidence and circumstance of the fact, to make a record of every such offence under his or their hands and seals respectively : which record so made, as aforesaid, shall to all intents and purposes be in law taken and adjudged to be a full and perfect conviction of every such offender for such offence : and thereupon the said justice, justices and chief magistrate respectively, shall impose on every such offender so convicted, as aforesaid, a fine of five shillings for such first offence ; which record and conviction shall be certified by the said justice, justices or chief magistrate, at the next quarter sessions of the peace, for the county or place where the offence was committed.

II. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if such offender so convicted, as aforesaid, shall at any time again commit the like offence or offences, contrary to this act, and be therefore in manner aforesaid convicted, then such offender so convicted of such like offence or offences, shall for every such offence incur the penalty of ten shillings ; (2) which fine and fines, for the first and every other offence, shall be levied by distress and sale of the offender's goods and chattels ; or in case of the poverty of such offender, upon the goods and chattels of

any other person or persons who shall be then convicted in manner aforesaid of the like offence at the same conventicle, at the discretion of the said justice, justices or chief magistrate respectively, so as the sum to be levied on any one person in case of the poverty of other offenders, amount not in the whole to above the sum of ten pounds, upon occasion of any one meeting, as aforesaid; (3) and every constable, headborough, tithingman, churchwardens, and overseers of the poor respectively, are hereby authorized and required to levy the same accordingly, having first received a warrant under the hands, and seals of the said justice, justices or chief magistrate respectively so to do; (4) the said monies so to be levied, to be forthwith delivered the same justice, justices or chief magistrate, and by him or them to be distributed, the one third part thereof to the use of the king's majesty, his heirs and successors, to be paid to the high sheriff of the county for the time being, in manner following; that is to say, the justice or justices of peace shall pay the same into the court of the respective quarter-sessions, which said court shall deliver the same to the sheriff, and make a memorial on record of the payment and delivery thereof, which said memorial shall be a sufficient and final discharge to the said justice and justices, and a charge to the sheriff, which said discharge and charge

shall be certified into the exchequer together, and not one without the other: and no justice shall or may be questioned or accountable for the same in the exchequer or elsewhere, than in quarter-sessions; another third part thereof to and for the use of the poor of the parish where such offence shall be committed; and the other third part thereof to the informer and informers, and to such person and persons as the said justice, justices or chief magistrate respectively shall appoint, having regard to their diligence and industry in the discovery, dispersing and punishing of the said conventicles.

III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every person who shall take upon him to preach or teach in any such meeting, assembly or conventicle, and shall thereof be convicted, as aforesaid, shall forfeit for every such first offence the sum of twenty pounds, to be levied in manner aforesaid upon his goods and chattels; (2) and if the said preacher or teacher so convicted, be a stranger, and his name and habitation not known, or is fled, and cannot be found, or in the judgment of the justice, justices or chief magistrate respectively, are hereby empowered and required to levy the same by warrant, as aforesaid, upon the goods and chattels of any such persons who shall be present at that same conventicle; any thing in this or any other act, law or statute to the con-

trary notwithstanding; and the money so levied, to be disposed of in manner aforesaid: (3) and if such offender so convicted, as aforesaid, shall at any time again commit the like offence or offences contrary to this act, and be thereof convicted in manner aforesaid, then such offender so convicted of such like offence or offences, shall for every such offence, incur the penalty of forty pounds, to be levied and disposed, as aforesaid.

IV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every person who shall wittingly and willingly suffer any such conventicle, meeting, or unlawful assembly aforesaid, to be held in his or her house, out-house, barn, yard, or backside, and be convicted thereof in manner aforesaid, shall forfeit the sum of twenty pounds, to be levied in manner aforesaid, upon his or her goods and chattels; or in case of his or her property or inability, as aforesaid, upon the goods and chattels of such persons who shall be convicted in manner aforesaid, of being present at the same conventicle; and the money so levied, to be disposed of in manner aforesaid.

V. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no person shall by any clause of this act be liable to pay above ten pounds for any one meeting, in regard of the poverty of any other person or persons.

VI. Provided also, and be it further enacted,

that in all cases of this act, where the penalty or sum charged upon any offender exceeds the sum of ten shillings, and such offender shall find himself aggrieved, it shall and may be lawful for him within one week after the said penalty or money charged shall be paid or levied, to appeal in writing from the person or persons convicting, to the judgment of the justices of the peace in their next quarter sessions, (2) to whom the justice or justices of the peace, chief magistrate or alderman, that first convicted such offender, shall return the money levied upon the appellant, and shall certify under his and their hands and seals, the evidence upon which the conviction past, with the whole record thereof, and the said appeal: (3) Whereupon such offender may plead and make defence, and have his trial by a jury thereupon: (4) and in case such appellant shall not prosecute with effect, or if upon such trial he shall not be acquitted, or judgment pass not for him upon his said appeal, the said justices at the sessions shall give treble costs against such offender for his unjust appeal: (5) And no other court whatsoever shall intermeddle with any cause or causes of appeal upon this act, but they shall be finally determined in the quarter-sessions only,

VII. Provided always, and be it further enacted, that upon the delivery of such appeal

as aforesaid, the person or persons appellant shall enter before the person or persons convicting, into a recognizance, to prosecute the said appeal with effect : (2) Which said recognizance the person or persons so convicting is hereby empowered to take, and required to certify the same to the next quarter sessions : (3) And in case no such recognizance be entered into, the said appeal to be null and void.

VIII. Provided always, that every such appeal shall be left with the person or persons so convicting, as aforesaid, at the time of the making thereof.

IX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the justice, justices of the peace, and chief magistrate respectively, or the respective constables, headboroughs, and tithingmen, by warrant from the said justice, justices, or chief magistrate respectively, shall and may with what aid, force and assistance they shall think fit, for the better execution of this act, after refusal or denial to enter, break open, and enter into any house or other place, where they shall be informed any such conventicle, as aforesaid, is or shall be held, as well within liberties as without ; (2) and take into their custody the persons there unlawfully assembled, to the intent they may be proceeded against according to this act : (3) and that the lieutenants or deputy lieutenants, or any commission-

ated officer of the militia, or other of his majesty's forces, with such troops or companies of horse and foot : and also the sheriffs, and other magistrates and ministers of justice, or any of them, jointly or severally, within any of the counties or places within this kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, with such other assistance as they shall think meet, or can get in readiness with the soonest, on certificate made to them respectively under the hand and seal of any one justice of the peace or chief magistrate, of his particular information or knowledge of such unlawful meeting or conventicle held, or to be held in their respective counties or places, and that he with such assistance as he can get together, is not able to suppress and dissolve the same, shall and may, and are hereby required and enjoined to repair unto the place where they are so held, or to be held, and by the best means they can to dissolve, dissipate or prevent all such unlawful meetings, and take into their custody such and so many of the said persons so unlawfully assembled as they shall think fit, to the intent that they may be proceeded against according to this act.

X. Provided always, that no dwelling house of any peer of this realm, where he or his wife shall then be resident, shall be searched by virtue of this act, but by immediate warrant

from his majesty, under his sign manual, or in the presence of the lieutenant, or one deputy lieutenant, or two justices of the peace, whereof one to be of the quorum, of the same county or riding.

XI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any constable, headborough, tithingman, churchwarden, or overseer of the poor, who shall know, or be credibly informed of any such meetings or conventicles held within his precincts, parishes limits, and shall not give information thereof to some justice of the peace, or the chief magistrate, and endeavour the conviction of the parties according to his duty; but such constable, headborough, tithingman, churchwarden, overseers of the poor, or any person lawfully called in aid of the constable, headborough, or tithingman, shall wilfully and wittingly omit the performance of his duty, in the execution of this act, and be thereof convicted in manner aforesaid, he shall forfeit for every such offence, the sum of five pounds, to be levied upon his goods and chattels, and disposed in manner aforesaid: (2) and that if any justice of the peace, or chief magistrate, shall wilfully and wittingly omit the performance of his duty in the execution of this act, he shall forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds, the one moiety to the use of the former, to be recovered by action, suit, bill.

or plaint, in any of his majesty's courts at Westminster, wherein no essoign, protection, or wager of law shall lie.

XII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person be at any time sued for putting in execution any of the powers contained in this act, otherwise than upon appeal allowed by this act, such person shall and may plead the general issue, and give the special matter in evidence; (2) and if the plaintiff be nonsuit, or a verdict pass for the defendant, or if the plaintiff discontinue his action, or if upon demurrer judgment be given for the defendant, every such defendant shall have his full treble costs.

XIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that this act, and all clauses therein contained, shall be construed most largely and beneficially for the suppressing of conventicles, and for the justification and encouragement of all persons to be employed in the execution thereof; (2) and that no record, warrant or mittimus to be made by virtue of this act, or any proceedings thereupon, shall be reversed, avoided, or any way impeached by reason of any default in form. (3) And in case any person offending against this act, shall be an inhabitant in any other county or corporation, or fly into any other county or corporation after the offence committed, the justice of

peace or chief magistrate before whom he shall be convicted, as aforesaid, shall certify the same under his hand and seal, to any justice of peace or chief magistrate of such other county or corporation wherein the said person or persons are inhabitants, or are fled into; (4) which said justice or chief magistrate respectively, is hereby authorized and required to levy the penalty or penalties in this act mentioned, upon the goods and chattels of such person or persons, as fully as the said other justice of peace might have done, in case he or they had been inhabitants in the place where the offence was committed.

XIV. Provided also, that no person shall be punished for any offence against this act, unless such offender be prosecuted for the same within three months after the offence committed. (2) And that no person who shall be punished for any offence by virtue of this act, shall be punished for the same offence by virtue of any other act or law whatsoever.

XV. Provided, and be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every alderman of London for the time being, within the city of London, and the liberties thereof, shall have (and they and every of them are hereby empowered and required to execute) the same power and authority within London, and the liberties thereof, for the examining, convicting,

and punishing of all offences within this act committed within London, and the liberties thereof, which any justice of peace hath by this act in any county of England, and shall be subject to the same penalties and punishments, for not doing that which by this act is directed to be done by any justice of peace in any county of England.

XVI. Provided, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if the person offending, and convicted as aforesaid be a femme-coverte, cohabiting with her husband, the penalties of five shillings, and ten shillings, so as aforesaid incurred, shall be levied by warrant, as aforesaid, upon the goods and chattels of the husband of such femme-coverte.

XVII. Provided also, that no peer of this realm shall be attached or imprisoned by virtue or force of this act; any thing, matter or clause, therein to the contrary notwithstanding.

XVIII. Provided also, that neither this act, nor any thing therein contained, shall extend to invalidate or make void his majesty's supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs: (2) but that his majesty, and his heirs and successors, may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, exercise and enjoy all powers and authority in ecclesiastical affairs, as fully and as amply as himself or any of his predecessors have or might

have done the same : any thing in this act notwithstanding.

By this very law many an honest family was impoverished ; for the Quakers did not leave off meeting together publicly, but the most sincere amongst them were the more zealous, and they were the more winnowed from the chaff, which in time of ease gets in amongst religious professors ; and none need wonder at it, since the Quakers having gained the repute of an upright hearted people, some for by-ends might creep in amongst them.

In London, as well as at other places, many were spoiled of their goods very unmercifully, and many times people of good substance brought even to poverty, seeing not only the shop goods of some, but also their household goods have been seized, insomuch that the very sick have had their beds taken from under them, and they themselves laid upon the floor ; nay, they have been so cruel, as to leave them nothing ; insomuch that when the child's pap hath stood in a pannikin, they have thrown out the pap to take the pannikin away.

Should I sum up all the particulars I have received, and the account I could give, it would make a volume of itself ; for the informers were generally poor, and sometimes also the justices, so that they knew how to part their booty be-

longing to the king, as well as to the poor ; and thus the king and the poor got but little of their plunder. Nevertheless it so happened sometimes, that those who were finable, were freed by the justices ; for they knew very well, that those informers, who were also witnesses, were cunning sharkers, who were only concerned to get their thirds of the booty, and therefore found out a way by which they shewed that they were knavish and unjust in their office, therefore not fit to give evidence ; so that it hath sometimes fallen out, that an honest justice hath cleared those informed against, when the informer missed in his evidence, either in the day of the month, or the like, in the complaint.

In London there once appeared before the lord mayor, sitting at a court of alderman, an impudent informer, having such a quantity of informations for fines as would have wronged the parties to the value of 1500*l*. but the mayor abominating such a practice, adjourned the court, and went away. But this hardy informer was not content to let the matter fall thus, but appeared before the court from time to time, to make a booty of honest peoples' goods ; but they still put him off, until at last he was himself arrested for debt, and carried to prison, where he ended his days.

Although now the law against seditious con-

venticles had passed, upon a supposition that the Presbyterians were ready to rise, considering the bustle and tumult occasioned by John Fox in Gloucestershire, which was much taken notice of, as I have mentioned before, yet nevertheless the Quakers' meetings became the chief object in the execution of this law. Whereupon G. Fox being in London, set forth in print the injustice of this law, in order, if possible, to moderate the government in putting the same in execution. Nevertheless being also sensible that a great storm hung over the heads of friends, he also wrote an epistle to them, to exhort them to faithfulness, and to encourage them to stand fast in their testimony, and bear with Christian patience the suffering that was come upon them. Now on the first first-day that this law took place, he went to the meeting of friends at Gracechurch street in London; but being come to the place, he found the street full of people, and a guard to keep them out of their meeting house; whereupon he went to Lombard street, (out of which there was also a passage to the meeting house) and there he also found a guard; but there being a court before the door, which was full of people, one of the Quakers ministers was there preaching to the people, and when he had ended, G. Fox stood up and said, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me; it is hard for thee to kick

against the pricks." Which words he thus explained : that it was Saul's nature that persecuted ; and that they persecuting Christ in his members, were kicking against the pricks ; and that it was the birth of the flesh that persecuted the birth of the Spirit ; and that it was the nature of dogs to tear and devour the sheep, but that they suffered like sheep, who did not bite again ; but were a peaceable people, who loved even their persecutors. While G. Fox was thus preaching, there came a constable and an informer, with soldiers, who pulled him down from the place he stood on. Then said he, " Blessed are the peacemakers : " but the commander of the soldiers ordered them to secure him : " for," said he, " you are the man I looked for." Wherefore he, with two more of his friends, John Burnet and another, were had before the lord mayor ; and as they were going, the informer said, it will never be a good world, until all people come to the good old religion that was two hundred years ago. G. Fox hearing this, said, " Art thou a Papist ? What ! a Papist informer ? For two hundred years ago there was no other public profession of religion but that of the Papists in this nation." It vexed the informer that G. Fox heard him speak thus : for he now saw he was insnared in his own talk. When he came into the court before the lord mayor's house, some people who

were there asked G. Fox, why he was brought thither prisoner? Pray, said he, ask that informer, and ask him his name; but he would not tell his name. Then one of the mayor's officers looking out at a window, told him, he should tell his name before he went away: for, said he, the lord mayor will know by what authority you have intruded yourself with soldiers in the execution of those laws which it belongs to the civil magistrate to execute, and not the military. The informer understanding this, got away, but not without some difficulty, because they would not then let him out of the court; but he forcibly pulling open the door, and being gotten into the street, the people gave a great shout, crying out, a Papist informer! a Papist informer! and he would have come off but badly, had not G. Fox advised the constable and soldiers to keep him out of the hands of the common people. Whereupon he went into the house and changed his perriwig, and so got away.

When the lord mayor came home, and G. Fox was brought before him, he said, "Mr. Fox, you are an eminent man among those of your own profession, pray will you be instrumental to persuade them from meeting in such great numbers:" for, said he, seeing Christ hath promised, where two or three are met in his name, he will be in the midst of them; and

the king and parliament are graciously pleased to allow of four to meet together to worship God, why will you not be content to partake both of Christ's promise to two or three, and the kings indulgence to four?" To which G. Fox answered, That Christ's promise was not to discourage many from meeting together in his name; but to encourage the few, that the fewest might not forbear to meet, because of their fewness. But if Christ hath promised to manifest his presence in the midst of so small an assembly, where but two or three were gathered in his name; how much more would his presence abound where two or three hundred are gathered in his name. I wished him to consider, whether this act would not have taken hold of Christ, with his apostles and seventy disciples, (if it had been in their time) who used to meet often together; and that in great numbers? However I told him, this act did not concern us; for it was made against seditious meetings, of such as met under pretence and colour of religion, to contrive insurrections, as (the act says) late experience had shewn; but we had been sufficiently tried and proved, and always found peaceable: and therefore he should do well to put a difference between the innocent and the guilty. He said the act was made against meetings, and a worship not according to the liturgy. I told him, [according to] was not

the very same thing ; and I asked him, whether the liturgy was according to the Scriptures ? And whether we might not read the Scriptures, and speak Scriptures ? He said, yes. I told him that this act took hold only of such as meet to plot and contrive insurrections, as late experience had shewn ; but they never had experienced that by us. Because thieves are sometimes on the road, must not honest men travel therefore ? And because plotters and contrivers have met to do mischief, must not an honest, peaceable people, meet to do good ? If we had been a people that did meet and contrive insurrections, &c. we might have drawn ourselves into fours : for four might do more mischief in plotting, than if there were four hundred ; because four might speak out their minds more freely one to another, than four hundred could. Therefore we being innocent, and not the people this act concerns, we keep our meetings as we used to do ; and I said, I believed, that he knew in his conscience we were innocent.

After this and more discourse, the lord mayor, whose name was Samuel Starling, let them go, seeing the informer was gone before, and now nobody accused them. The treatment this informer met with, made others scrupulous, yet several of their meetings in London were disturbed, and some of their preachers cast into prison ; but though the Baptists and other dis-

senters ceased their public meetings, yet the Quakers continued to keep theirs, as they used to do, whereby it happened that some of their meeting houses were pulled down, and amongst others that at Ratcliffe, which was a substantial building almost new.

After some time, the heat of persecution in the city began to abate, but in other places it raged more fiercely; this engaged G. Fox to leave the city, and travel about the country in divers places to visit his friends.

This year G. Fox had a very great fit of sickness, to such a degree, that he became both blind and deaf, insomuch that his recovery was despaired of by some; but after a time he grew better.

In the meanwhile persecution in many places grew very dismal; for many of the friends were beaten with swords, and pikes, and muskets, to that degree, that their blood ran along the ground, and the informers were so very eager to hunt after their prey, that they informed of meetings when there was none. Amongst others, this following was an instance. At Droitwich, John Cartwright came to a friend's house there, who sitting down to supper, he prayed before they ate, which being heard by an informer, the room being next to the street, he thereupon went immediately and informed that there was a meeting in the house, and so got a

about a week in Bristol, and then they went together to Oldstone, and there taking leave of each other, they parted, she went homeward into the north, and he travelled through Wiltshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Bucks, and so to London; for although now he had a wife, yet he did not neglect his care towards the churches, all the nation over, in the gift which he had received of God, both in word and writing to their edification, and amongst the rest he had a special regard, that the poor might be taken care of, to which end he wrote an epistle in London, to this effect, that poor children should be put forth apprentices to trades, whereby in time, they might help their aged parents, and enable them to bring up their families, and maintain themselves handsomely.

G. Fox stayed not long in London; but the year 1670 being now come, he travelled through Hertfordshire Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and Leicestershire, where he expected to have met with his wife; for he had written her word (if she found it convenient) to meet him there; but instead thereof he understood she was haled out of her house, and carried to Lancaster prison, upon the old premunire, which was executed upon her five years before, from which she was discharged by order of the king and council the last year. Wherefore, after he had visited friends in those counties, he returned to Lon-

it would make a very large treatise. At this time there were many prisoners at Cork, among whom was Samuel Thornton, with whom I was well acquainted, who being met with his friends in a chamber one first day, the officer Quinnal came and shut the door of the room, and locked them in, to the number of eighty persons, and carried the key to the mayor, Matthew Dean, who gave order that there should neither victuals nor drink be carried to them, and they could only get what was pulled up with ropes through the grate, or thrown in through a hole : under this chamber the soldiers were ordered to keep guard, that none might get away, and they made so great a smoke, that many of the prisoners were sick, among whom were some weakly old people, and some women with child, and nurses, who were almost stifled ; and complaint thereof being made to the mayor, he answered in a scoffing manner, they are all brethren and sisters, let them lie upon one another ; and if they are stifled it is their own fault. Thus they were kept twenty four hours, and afterwards some of them made prisoners.

Solomon Eccles, whom I also knew very well, was this year in prison at Galloway in Ireland, where he was put, by a strange accident. He was an extraordinary zealous man, and what he judged evil he warmly opposed, even to the hazard of his life. This zeal led him to

have done the same : any thing in this act notwithstanding.

By this very law many an honest family was impoverished ; for the Quakers did not leave off meeting together publicly, but the most sincere amongst them were the more zealous, and they were the more winnowed from the chaff, which in time of ease gets in amongst religious professors ; and none need wonder at it, since the Quakers having gained the repute of an upright hearted people, some for by-ends might creep in amongst them.

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longing to the king, as well as to the poor; and thus the king and the poor got but little of their plunder. Nevertheless it so happened sometimes, that those who were finable, were freed by the justices; for they knew very well, that those informers, who were also witnesses, were cunning sharkers, who were only concerned to get their thirds of the booty, and therefore found out a way by which they shewed that they were knavish and unjust in their office, therefore not fit to give evidence; so that it hath sometimes fallen out, that an honest justice hath cleared those informed against, when the informer missed in his evidence, either in the day of the month, or the like, in the complaint.

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Although now the law against seditious con-

you decline to produce that law, since it will be impossible for the jury to determine, or agree to bring in their verdict, who have not the law produced, by which they should measure the truth of this indictment, and the guilt, or contrary of my fact." The recorder being angry, said, "You are a saucy fellow, speak to the indictment." W. Penn replied, "I say, it is my place to speak to matter of law; I am arraigned a prisoner, my liberty, which is next to life itself, is now concerned," &c.

At this time several upon the bench urged hard upon the prisoner to bear him down. W. Penn said, "You are many mouths and ears against me, and if I must not be allowed to make the best of my cause, it is hard; I say again, unless you shew me and the people the law you ground your indictment upon, I shall take it for granted, your proceedings are merely arbitrary." The recorder then replying, said, "The question is, whether your are guilty of this indictment." "The question," said W. Penn, "is not whether I am guilty of this indictment, but whether this indictment be legal: it is too general and imperfect an answer, to say it is the common law, unless we know both where, and what it is: for where there is no law, there is no transgression; and that law which is not in being, is so far from being common, that it is no law at all." The recorder

snapped him hereupon, with, " You are an impertinent fellow, will you teach the court what law is ? It is *lex non scripta*, that which many have studied thirty or forty years to know, and would you have me tell you in a moment." " Certainly," replied W. Penn, " if the common law be so hard to be understood, it is far from being very common ; but if the lord Coke in his institutes, be of any consideration, he tells us, that common law is common right ; and that common right is the great charter privileges, confirmed, 9 Hen. 3. 29. 25 Edw. 1. 1. 2 Edw. 3. 8. Coke's Institutes, 2. p. 56." The recorder taking no pleasure in that speech, said, " Sir, you are a troublesome fellow, and it is not for the honour of the court to suffer you to go on." " I have," replied W. Penn, " asked but one question, and you have not answered me ; though the rights and privileges of every Englishman be concerned in it." " Well," said the recorder, " if I should suffer you to ask questions till to-morrow morning, you would be never the wiser." " That is," said W. Penn, " according as the answers are." " But," says the recorder, " we must not stand to hear you talk all night." Whereupon W. Penn replied, " I desire no affront to the court, but to be heard in my just plea ; and I must plainly tell you, that if you deny me the oyer of that law, which you suggest I have broken, you do at

once deny me an acknowledged right, and evidence to the whole world your resolution to sacrifice the privileges of Englishmen, to your sinister and arbitrary designs." This so enraged the recorder, that he called to the officers, "Take him away." And to the lord mayor he said, "My lord, if you take not some course with this pestilent fellow, to stop his mouth, we shall not be able to do any thing to-night." Then the lord mayor cried, "Take him away, take him away, turn him into the bail-dock.

W. Penn seeing how force and violence prevailed, said, "These are but so many vain exclamations: is this justice, or true judgment? Must I therefore be taken away because I plead for the fundamental laws of England." Then addressing himself to the jury, he said, "However, this I leave upon your consciences, who are of the jury, and my sole judges, that if these ancient fundamental laws, which relate to liberty and property, and are not limited to particular persuasions in matters of religion, must not be indispensibly maintained and observed, who can say he hath right to the coat upon his back? Certainly our liberties are openly to be invaded, our wives to be ravished, our children enslaved, our families ruined, and our estates led away in triumph, by every sturdy beggar, and malicious informer, as their trophies, by our pretended forfeits for conscience sake. The Lord

of heaven and earth will be judge between us in this matter." The hearing of this emphatical speech was so troublesome to the recorder, that he cried, "Be silent there." At which W. Penn returned, "I am not to be silent in a cause wherein I am so much concerned, and not only myself, but many ten thousand families besides.

He being now haled into the bail-dock, it was W. Mead's turn to plead, who spoke thus: "Ye men of the jury, I now stand here to answer to an indictment against me, which is a bundle stuff full of lies and falsehoods; for therein I am acoused, that I met *vi & armis, illicitè & tumultuose*. Time was when I had freedom to use a carnal weapon, and then I thought I feared no man: but now I fear the living God, and dare not make use thereof, nor hurt any man, nor do I know I demeaned myself as a tumultuous person. I say, I am a peaceable man; therefore it is a very proper question what W. Penn demanded in this case, an oyer of the law, on which our indictment is grounded." To this the recorder said, "I have made an answer to that already." W. Mead then turning his face to the jury, said, "Ye men of the jury, who are my judges, if the recorder will not tell you what makes a riot, a rout, or unlawful assembly, Cook, he that once they called the lord Cook,

the very same thing ; and I asked him, whether the liturgy was according to the Scriptures ? And whether we might not read the Scriptures, and speak Scriptures ? He said, yes. I told him that this act took hold only of such as meet to plot and contrive insurrections, as late experience had shewn ; but they never had experienced that by us. Because thieves are sometimes on the road, must not honest men travel therefore ? And because plotters and contrivers have met to do mischief, must not an honest, peaceable people, meet to do good ? If we had been a people that did meet and contrive insurrections, &c. we might have drawn ourselves into fours : for four might do more mischief in plotting, than if there were four hundred ; because four might speak out their minds more freely one to another, than four hundred could. Therefore we being innocent, and not the people this act concerns, we keep our meetings as we used to do ; and I said, I believed, that he knew in his conscience we were innocent.

After this and more discourse, the lord mayor, whose name was Samuel Starling, let them go, seeing the informer was gone before, and now nobody accused them. The treatment this informer met with, made others scrupulous, yet several of their meetings in London were disturbed, and some of their preachers cast into prison ; but though the Baptists and other dis-

senters ceased their public meetings, yet the Quakers continued to keep theirs, as they used to do, whereby it happened that some of their meeting houses were pulled down, and amongst others that at Ratcliffe, which was a substantial building almost new.

After some time, the heat of persecution in the city began to abate, but in other places it raged more fiercely; this engaged G. Fox to leave the city, and travel about the country in divers places to visit his friends.

This year G. Fox had a very great fit of sickness, to such a degree, that he became both blind and deaf, insomuch that his recovery was despaired of by some; but after a time he grew better.

In the meanwhile persecution in many places grew very dismal; for many of the friends were beaten with swords, and pikes, and muskets, to that degree, that their blood ran along the ground, and the informers were so very eager to hunt after their prey, that they informed of meetings when there was none. Amongst others, this following was an instance. At Droitwich, John Cartwright came to a friend's house there, who sitting down to supper, he prayed before they ate, which being heard by an informer, the room being next to the street, he thereupon went immediately and informed that there was a meeting in the house, and so got a

warrant to distrain the goods; and when he came riding with them in the evening, he fell from his horse, and brake his neck, thereby getting his death instead of his prey, which he hunted after.

Now, although persecution was not so hot in London, as in other places in the country, yet sometimes even there it was very severe, as may be seen by the instance of William Penn and William Mead, who were taken from a meeting and imprisoned, and tried for the same in the month of September.

The indictment contained, "That William Penn, and William Mead, with divers other persons, to the number of three hundred, at Gracechurch-street, in London, on the 15th of August, with force and arms, and tumultuously assembled together, and that William Penn, by agreement between him and William Mead, had preached there in the public street, whereby was caused a great concourse and tumult of people," &c. That there was a public meeting in the street, proceeded from necessity: because a guard was placed in the passage to hinder friends from going into their meeting house; but it was a great untruth, that they met with force and arms, which was never used by the Quakers. This indictment being read before the court, the prisoners were demanded, according to custom, whether they were guilty

or not guilty? Whereupon W. Penn said, "It is impossible that we should be able to remember the indictment verbatim, and therefore we desire a copy of it, as is customary on the like occasions." The recorder, John Howley, said hereupon, "You must first plead to the indictment, before you can have a copy of it." Then W. Penn said, that he first desired that no advantage might be taken against him, nor be deprived of any benefit, which he might otherwise receive, and that the court would promise him a fair hearing, and liberty of making his defence. Upon which the court said, that no advantage should be taken against him, and that he should have liberty, and should be heard. W. Penn then said, that he pleaded not guilty in manner and form. Then W. Mead was demanded, whether he was guilty, or not guilty, and he answered the same as W. Penn. The court then proceeded with the business of trying thieves and murderers, making the prisoners stay waiting five hours, and then returned them to prison; and after two days brought them again before the court. And then the officers of the court having taken off the prisoners' hats, the lord mayor, Samuel Starling, shewed himself displeased with it, and ordered the officers to put on their hats again, which being done, the recorder, John Howel, who upon all occasions shewed his fierceness, accused them that they

you decline to produce that law, since it will be impossible for the jury to determine, or agree to bring in their verdict, who have not the law produced, by which they should measure the truth of this indictment, and the guilt, or contrary of my fact." The recorder being angry, said, "You are a saucy fellow, speak to the indictment." W. Penn replied, "I say, it is my place to speak to matter of law; I am arraigned a prisoner, my liberty, which is next to life itself, is now concerned," &c.

At this time several upon the bench urged hard upon the prisoner to bear him down. W. Penn said, "You are many mouths and ears against me, and if I must not be allowed to make the best of my cause, it is hard; I say again, unless you shew me and the people the law you ground your indictment upon, I shall take it for granted, your proceedings are merely arbitrary." The recorder then replying, said, "The question is, whether your are guilty of this indictment. "The question," said W. Penn, "is not whether I am guilty of this indictment, but whether this indictment be legal: it is too general and imperfect an answer, to say it is the common law, unless we know both where, and what it is: for where there is no law, there is no transgression; and that law which is not in being, is so far from being common, that it is no law at all." The recorder

snapped him hereupon, with, " You are an impertinent fellow, will you teach the court what law is ? It is *lex non scripta*, that which many have studied thirty or forty years to know, and would you have me tell you in a moment." " Certainly," replied W. Penn, " if the common law be so hard to be understood, it is far from being very common ; but if the lord Coke in his institutes, be of any consideration, he tells us, that common law is common right ; and that common right is the great charter privileges, confirmed, 9 Hen. 3. 29. 25 Edw. 1. 1. 2 Edw. 3. 8. Coke's Institutes, 2. p. 56." The recorder taking no pleasure in that speech, said, " Sir, you are a troublesome fellow, and it is not for the honour of the court to suffer you to go on." " I have," replied W. Penn, " asked but one question, and you have not answered me ; though the rights and privileges of every Englishman be concerned in it." " Well," said the recorder, " if I should suffer you to ask questions till to-morrow morning, you would be never the wiser." " That is," said W. Penn, " according as the answers are." " But," says the recorder, " we must not stand to hear you talk all night." Whereupon W. Penn replied, " I desire no affront to the court, but to be heard in my just plea ; and I must plainly tell you, that if you deny me the oyer of that law, which you suggest I have broken, you do at

once deny me an acknowledged right, and evidence to the whole world your resolution to sacrifice the privileges of Englishmen, to your sinister and arbitrary designs." This so enraged the recorder, that he called to the officers, "Take him away." And to the lord mayor he said, "My lord, if you take not some course with this pestilent fellow, to stop his mouth, we shall not be able to do any thing to-night." Then the lord mayor cried, "Take him away, take him away, turn him into the bail-dock.

W. Penn seeing how force and violence prevailed, said, "These are but so many vain exclamations: is this justice, or true judgment? Must I therefore be taken away because I plead for the fundamental laws of England." Then addressing himself to the jury, he said, "However, this I leave upon your consciences, who are of the jury, and my sole judges, that if these ancient fundamental laws, which relate to liberty and property, and are not limited to particular persuasions in matters of religion, must not be indispensibly maintained and observed, who can say he hath right to the coat upon his back? Certainly our liberties are openly to be invaded, our wives to be ravished, our children enslaved, our families ruined, and our estates led away in triumph, by every sturdy beggar, and malicious informer, as their trophies, by our pretended forfeits for conscience sake. The Lord

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He being now haled into the bail-dock, it was W. Mead's turn to plead, who spoke thus: "Ye men of the jury, I now stand here to answer to an indictment against me, which is a bundle stuff full of lies and falsehoods; for therein I am accused, that I met *vi & armis, illicite & tumultuose*. Time was when I had freedom to use a carnal weapon, and then I thought I feared no man: but now I fear the living God, and dare not make use thereof, nor hurt any man, nor do I know I demeaned myself as a tumultuous person. I say, I am a peaceable man; therefore it is a very proper question what W. Penn demanded in this case, an oyer of the law, on which our indictment is grounded." To this the recorder said, "I have made an answer to that already." W. Mead then turning his face to the jury, said, "Ye men of the jury, who are my judges, if the recorder will not tell you what makes a riot, a rout, or unlawful assembly, Cook, he that once they called the lord Cook,

tells us what makes a riot, a rout, or unlawful assembly.—A riot is when three or more are met together to beat a man, or to enter forcibly into another man's land, to cut down his grass, his wood, or break down his pales." The recorder interrupting him, and scornfully pulling off his hat, said, "I thank you, sir, that you will tell me what the law is : " and Richard Brown, that inveterate enemy of the Quakers, said, " He talks at random, one while an Independent, another while of some other religion, and now a Quaker, and next a Papist." Mead, not being minded openly to affront this alderman, told him this well known Latin verse,

Turpa est doctori cum culpa redarguit ipsum,

for Brown himself formerly had been an Independent, though now he belonged to the church of England, and was of the court party. But the lord mayor, who it seems was a great friend of Brown's, said to Mead, " You deserve to have your tongue cut out." " And," added the recorder, " if you discourse on this manner, I shall take occasion against you." To which Mead returned, " Thou didst promise me I should have fair liberty to be heard. Why may I not have the privilege of an Englishman, and you might be ashamed of this dealing." At this the recorder said, " I look upon you to be

an enemy to the laws of England, which ought to be observed and kept; nor are you worthy of such privileges as others have." Mead well seeing that force and violence prevailed, and that his speaking could not avail him, said with a composed mind, "The Lord be judge between me and thee in this matter."

Upon which he was taken away into the bail-dock, and the recorder gave the jury the following charge: "You have heard what the indictment is; it is for preaching to the people, and drawing a tumultuous company after them; and Mr. Penn was speaking. If they should not be disturbed, you see they will go on; there are three or four witnesses that have proved this that he did preach there; that Mr. Mead did allow of it; after this, you have heard by substantial witnesses what is said against them. Now we are upon the matter of fact, which you are to keep to, and observe, as what hath been fully sworn, at your peril." That the recorder spoke thus to the jury, in the absence of the prisoners, was indeed irregular; wherefore W. Penn, who heard this from afar, spoke with a very raised voice, that so he might be heard by those on the bench, after this manner; "I appeal to the jury, who are my judges, and to this great assembly, whether the proceedings of the court are not most arbitrary, and void of all law, in offering to give the jury their charge in the ab-

sence of the prisoners. I say it is directly opposite to, and destructive of the undoubted right of every English prisoner, as Cook in the 2 inst. on the Chap. of Magna Charta speaks."

The recorder being thus unexpectedly lashed for his extra-judicial procedure, said with a disdainful smile, "Why, ye are present; you do hear, do you not?" To which Penn returned,

"No thanks to the court, that commanded me into the bail-dock: and you of the jury take notice, that I have not been heard, neither can you legally depart the court, before I have been fully heard, having at least ten or twelve material points to offer, in order to invalidate their indictment." This plain speaking of W. Penn so enraged the recorder, that he cried, "Pull that fellow down, pull him down:" for Penn it seems to be heard the better, had clambered up a little by the rails of the bail-dock. When W. Mead said, "Are these according to the rights and privileges of Englishmen, that we should not be heard, but turned into the bail-dock for making our defence; and the jury to have their charge given them in our absence? I say, these are barbarous and unjust proceedings." The recorder yet more incensed, cried, "Take them away into the hole: to hear them talk all night, as they would, that I think doth not become the honour of the court."

The prisoners being kept in a stinking hole,

the jury were commanded up, to agree upon their verdict ; and after an hour and half's time, eight came down agreed, but four remained above : the court then sent an officer for them, and they accordingly came down ; but the court used many indecent threats to the four that dissented, and after much menacing language, and a very imperious behaviour against the jury, the prisoners being brought to the bar, the foreman was asked, "How say you? Is William Penn guilty of the matter whereof he stands indicted in manner and form, or not guilty." Foreman: "Guilty of speaking in Gracechurch street." The next question was, "Is that all?" Foreman, "That is all I have in commission." This answer so displeased the recorder, that he said, "You had as good say nothing." And the lord mayor, Starling, said, "Was it not an unlawful assembly? You mean he was speaking to a tumult of people there?" To which the foreman returned, "My lord, this was all I had in commission." Some of the jury seemed now to buckle to the questions of the court ; but others opposed themselves, and said, "They allowed of no such word as an unlawful assembly in their verdict:" at which some on the bench took occasion to vilify them with opprobrious language. And because the court would not dismiss the jury before they gave a more satisfactory verdict, they called for pen, ink, and

paper, and so went up again : and after half an hour returning, delivered the following verdict in writing.

“ We the jurors hereafter named, do find William Penn to be guilty of speaking or preaching to an assembly, met together in Gracechurch street, the 14th of August last, 1670, and that William Mead is not guilty of the said indictment.

Foreman. Thomas Veer, Charles Milson,
Edward Bushel, Gregory Walklet,
John Hammond, John Baily,
Henry Henly, William Lever,
Henry Michel James Damask,
John Brightman William Plumsted.

This verdict the mayor and recorder resented at so high a rate, that they exceeded the bounds of all moderation and civility ; and the recorder said, “ Gentlemen, you shall not be dismissed till we have a verdict, that the court will accept ; and you shall be locked up, without meat, drink, fire, and tobacco ; you shall not think thus to abuse the court ; we will have a verdict by the help of God, or you shall starve for it.

Now though the jury had given in their verdict, and signified that they could give no other

yet all was in vain; and W. Penn seeing how they were treated against all reason, said, "My jury, who are my judges, ought not to be thus menaced; their verdict should be free, and not compelled; the bench ought to wait upon them, but not forestall them. I do desire that justice may be done me, and that the arbitrary resolves of the bench may not be made the measure of my jury's verdict." This modest speech so incensed the recorder, that he cried, "Stop that prating fellow's mouth, or put him out of the court." And the Lord Mayor said to the jury, "You have heard that he preached, that he gathered a company of tumultuous people, and that they do not only disobey the martial power, but the civil also." To which W. Penn returned, "That is a great mistake; we did not make the tumult, but they that interrupted us. The jury cannot be so ignorant, as to think, that we met there with a design to disturb the civil peace, since (first) we were by force of arms kept out of our lawful house, and met as near it in the street as the soldiers would give leave. And (secondly) because it was no new thing, nor with the circumstances expressed in the indictment, but what was usual and customary with us. It is very well known that we are a peaceable people and cannot offer violence to any man."

The court now being resolved to send the prisoners to their jail, and the jury to their

chamber, Penn spoke as followeth: "The agreement of twelve men is a verdict in law, and such an one being given by the jury, I require the clerk of the peace to record it, as he will answer it at his peril. And if the jury bring in another verdict contradictory to this, I affirm they are perjured men in law." And looking upon the jury, said, "You are Englishmen, mind your privilege: give not away your right." To which E. Bushel, one of them returned, "Nor will we ever do it." Another of the jury men pleaded indisposition of body, and therefore desired to be dismissed; but the lord mayor said, "You are as strong as any of them; starve then, and hold your principles; To which the recorder added, "Gentlemen, you must be content with your hard fate; let your patience overcome it; for the court is resolved to have a verdict, and that before you can be dismissed." And though the jury men said, we are agreed, we are agreed, we are agreed, yet the court swore several persons, to keep the jury all night, without meat, drink, fire, or any other accommodation; nay, they had not so much as a chamber pot, though desired. Thus force and violence prevailed. The next day, though it was the first day of the week, vulgarly called Sunday, the court sat again; and the prisoners being brought to the bar, the jury were called in, and their foreman was asked, "Is William

Penn guilty of the matter whereof he stands indicted, in manner and form aforesaid, or not guilty?" To which he answered as before, "William Penn is guilty of speaking in Grace-church street." The lord mayor then, asking, to an unlawful assembly? Edward Bushel answered, no, my lord, we give no verdict than what we gave last night; we have no other verdict to give. "You are," returned the lord mayor, "a factious fellow: I will take a course with you." "I have," said Bushel, "done according to my conscience." This so displeased the mayor, that he said, "That conscience of yours would cut my throat; but I will cut yours as soon as I can." To which the recorder added, "He has inspired the jury; he has the spirit of divination; methinks I feel him: I will have a positive verdict, or you shall starve for it."

Then W. Penn said, "I desire to ask the recorder one question: do you allow of the verdict, given of W. Mead?" To which the recorder answered, "It cannot be a verdict, because you are indicted for a conspiracy; and one being found not guilty, and not the other, it cannot be a verdict." This made Penn say, "If not guilty be not a verdict, then you make of the jury and Magna Charta but a mere nose of wax." "How!" asked W. Mead then, "Is not guilty no verdict?" "No," said the recorder, "it is no verdict." To which Penn replied, "I

affirm that the consent of a jury is a verdict in law; and if W. Mead be not guilty, it consequently follows, that I am clear, since you have indicted us of conspiracy, and I could not possibly conspire alone." After this, the court spoke to the jury, and caused them to go up again, if possible to extort another verdict from them. Then the jury being called, and asked by the clerk, "What say you? Is William Penn guilty of the matter whereof he stands indicted, in manner and form aforesaid, or not guilty?" The foreman answered, "Guilty of speaking in Gracechurch street." To which the recorder returned, "What is this to the purpose? I say I will have a verdict." And speaking to E. Bushel, said, "You are a factious fellow, I will set a mark upon you; and whilst I have any thing to do in the city, I will have an eye upon you." To this the mayor added, "Have you no more wit than to be led by such a pitiful fellow? I will cut his nose."

Thus the court endeavoured to baffle the jury; and therefore it was not without very good reason that W. Penn said; "It is intolerable that my jury should be thus menaced: is this according to the fundamental laws? Are not they my proper judges by the great charter of England? What hope is there of ever having justice done, when juries are threatened, and their verdict is rejected? I am concerned

to speak, and grieved to see such arbitrary proceedings. Did not the lieutenant of the Tower render one of them worse than a felon. And do you not plainly seek to condemn such for factious fellows who answer not your ends? Unhappy are those juries, who are threatened to be fined, starved, and ruined, if they give not in their verdicts contrary to their consciences." These plain expressions so troubled the recorder, that he said to the lord mayor, "My lord, you must take a course with this fellow." And then the mayor cried, "Stop his mouth; jailor bring fetters, and stake him to the ground. To which W. Penn said, "Do your pleasure; I matter not your fetters." The recorder then ventured to say, "Till now I never understood the reason of the policy and prudence of the Spaniards, in suffering the inquisition among them. And certainly it will never be well with us, till something like the Spanish inquisition be in England." The jury being required to find another verdict, and they saying they could give no other, the recorder grew so angry, that he said, "Gentlemen, we shall not be at this pass always with you; you will find the next session of parliament there will be a law made, that those that will not conform, shall not have the protection of the law.—Your verdict is nothing, you play upon the court. I say, you shall go together, and bring in another ver-

dict, or you shall starve, and I will have you carted about the city, as in Edward the third's time."

The jury refusing to give another verdict since they had all agreed to that which they had given, and shewing themselves unwilling to go up again, the lord mayor bid the sheriff to make them go. The sheriff then coming off his seat, said, "Come, gentlemen, you must go up; you see I am commanded to make you go." Upon which the jury went up, and several were sworn to keep them without any accommodation as aforesaid, till they brought in their verdict: and the prisoners were remanded to Newgate, where they remaining till next morning were then brought to the court again: and being set to the bar, and the jury called, and asked, "Is William Penn guilty of the matter whercof he stands indicted in manner and form, &c. or not guilty?" The foreman answered, "You have there read in writing already our verdict, and our hands subscribed." Now the clerk, who had that paper, was by the recorder stopped from reading it; and it was said by the court, that paper was no verdict. Then the clerk asked, "How say you? Is William Penn guilty, &c. or not guilty?" To which the foreman answered, "Not guilty." The same question being put concerning W. Mead, the foreman

answered likewise, not guilty! The jury then being asked by the clerk, whether they said so all, they answered, "We do so." The bench still unsatisfied, commanded that every person should distinctly answer to their names, and give in their verdict, which they unanimously did, in saying, not guilty. The recorder, who could not bear this, said, "I am sorry, gentlemen, you have followed your own judgments and opinions, rather than the good and wholesome advice which was given you. God keep my life out of your hands: but for this the court fines you forty marks a man, and imprisonment till paid."

W. Penn then stepping up towards the bench, said, "I demand my liberty, being freed by the jury." "No," said the lord mayor, "you are in for your fines." Fines! returned Penn, for what? For contempt of the court, said the lord mayor. "I ask," replied Penn, "if it be according to the fundamental laws of England, that any Englishman should be fined or amerced, but by the judgment of his peers or jury? Since it expressly contradicts the 14th and 29th chapters of the great charter of England, which say, no freeman ought to be amerced but by the oath of good and lawful men of the vicinage." Instead of answering to this question, the recorder cried, "Take him away, take him away; take him out of the court." On which W. Penn

said, "I can never urge the fundamental laws of England, but you cry, take him away, take him away. But it is no wonder, since the Spanish inquisition hath so great a place in the recorder's heart. God Almighty, who is just, will judge you all for these things." W. Penn was not suffered to speak any more, but he and W. Mead were haled to the bail-dock, and from thence sent to Newgate, and so were the jury. How they came at length to be freed, I do not know.

This trial was afterwards published in print more at large than is set down here, and an appendix subjoined to it; in which are shewed not only the invalidity of the evidence, but also the absurdity of the indictment, and the illegal proceedings of the court; and from the great charter, that they had been dealt with contrary to law. The case of the lord chief justice Keeling is also mentioned, who having put restraints upon juries, a committee of parliament the 11th of December, 1667, came to this resolution, "That his proceedings were innovations, in the trial of men for their lives and liberties; and that he had used an arbitrary and illegal power, which was of dangerous consequence to the lives and liberties of the people of England, and tended to the introducing an arbitrary government. Moreover, that in the place of
ture he had undervalued, vilified and con-

demned Magna Charta. And therefore, that he should be brought to trial, in order to condign punishment, in such manner as the house shall judge most fit and requisite. Two days after, viz. *Die veneris*, the 13th of December, it was resolved, that the precedents and practice of fining or imprisoning jurors for verdicts, is illegal. The book containing the fore-mentioned trial of W. Penn and W. Mead was reprinted I think more than once; for it came to be much in request, because the liberties of the people were therein well defended, and arbitrary power controlled. The title of it was, *The People's Ancient and Just Liberties asserted*; and underneath was added this well known verse of Juvenal,

Sic volo, sic jubeo; stat pro ratione voluntas.

This matter was more circumstantially treated of in a book in print, by Thomas Rudyard a lawyer, who shewed therein at large the right of juries, and the unlawfulness of the proceeding then in vogue; which he made appear plainly, both from law, and by citations from the books of eminent lawyers. And having sometimes vigorously pleaded the cause of the oppressed, he also became the object of persecuting fury, which could not endure his faithful defending of the innocent. And therefore this

summer the magistrates of London issued out a warrant to break open his house in the dead of the night, in order to apprehend him ; and this warrant was executed by the soldiers of one captain Holford ; and the next day he was sent to Newgate by a mittimus under the hands and seals of the lord mayor Samuel Starling, William Peak, Robert Hanson, and several others, under pretence, that he stirred up persons to disobedience of the laws, and abetted and encouraged such as met in unlawful and seditious conventicles, contrary to the late act. But this case being brought before the justices of the court of Common Pleas, at Westminster, by an *habeas corpus*, that court, after solemn debate, gave their judgment, that Thomas Rudyard was unjustly imprisoned, and unlawfully detained. And so he was set at liberty. But the lord mayor Samuel Starling fretting at this discharge, found out new stratagems to compass his ends upon him. For an indictment was formed against him for having hindered due course of law against one Samuel Allingbridge. But Rudyard so well defended himself, that he was acquitted ; which so incensed the lord mayor, that not long after he was again committed to Newgate, on a religious account, viz. for having been in the meeting at White-Hart court in Gracechurch-street. The proceedings against him and others on that

account were no less arbitrary than those against W. Penn and W. Mead already mentioned, and therefore Rudyard exposed his and their trials in print; and seeing he understood the law, he was the more able to shew the injustice of these proceedings, and how inconsistent such prosecutions were with the laws of the land.

But to avoid prolixity, I shall relate but little of them, since many things occur therein, which have been mentioned already in other cases. How the recorder Howel was inclined in respect to religion, may be deduced from what hath been said already of his panegyrick upon the Spanish inquisition. And to Rudyard and his fellow prisoners, he gave no obscure evidence what religion he preferred: for they saying, that they were always quiet and peaceable in their assemblies, and that the laws against riots were never intended against them, but popish, or such like disturbers of the peace, The recorder returned, That the Papists were better subjects to the king, than they were; and that they were a stubborn and dangerous people, and must either be brought under, or there was no safe living by them. The prisoners offering to vindicate themselves from these odious and foul aspersions, were not suffered to say any thing in their own defence; but instead of hearing them, they were by order

of the lord mayor and the recorder thrust into the bail-dock and treated almost at the same rate as W. Penn and W. Mead had been before.

But violence prevailed now ; and the recorder because of his outrageous behaviour against the Quakers, was so much in favour with the court of justice, that alderman Jo. Robinson did not hesitate to tell them, that the recorder deserved an hundred pounds for his service done at the Old-Bailey the last sessions. And his proposal so took, that the court consented to pay him for the said service an hundred pounds by the chamberlain of London. And since this was so well known to T. Rudyard, that in a book he published, he named the date of the said order, viz. the 8th of October, 1670 ; and that other orders had been given for two hundred pounds more to him, within eight months last past ; he, to reprehend such doings in a satirical way, called them, " An excellent way to ease the treasury of being over-burthened with orphans' money," by which sinister ends, and dispositions of its cash, the chamber was so deeply in debt, that it was almost incredible.

Now, since Rudyard as a lawyer, had a more full knowledge of these unlawful proceedings against him and his friends, than many others, he composed a treatise of these persecutions, which he called, The Second Part of the

Peoples Ancient and Just Liberties asserted. And true lovers of their country, were pleased with it: for that party, whtch countenanced popery, and therefore endeavoured to violate the peoples rights, strove to get the upper hand.

Persecution was now very hot and fierce all over the country, because a door was opened for all base and wicked fellows to get booty by informing; for by the act against meetings (which, though religious, were branded with the name of seditious) the informer was to have a third part of the imposed fine. This set on many vile persons, and among these sometimes thieves and infamous fellows, to render any comings together of Quakers, though it was but a visit, or a burial, the name of a meeting, and to swear that a meeting had been kept there. Nay, sometimes they swore only by guess, that in such a place a meeting had been kept, though the witnesses had not seen it, as was requisite by law. And this informing came so much in vogue, that some magistrates themselves turned informers.

*Quid non mortalia pectora cogis Auri sacra fames!**

* What will not the cursed craving after gain, induce the human mind to undertake.

I might write a large volume of these abominable deeds, if I could find leisure for it ; yet now and then I will mention a few instances, by which the reader may make a conjecture of the rest.

This year at Alford in Somersetshire, in the month called August, the corpse of one Samuel Clothier was buried, and though at the burying place all were silent, yet the justice, Robert Hunt, fined some that had been at the burial, for having assisted at this pretended meeting.

In Nottingham it happened in the latter end of this year, that the justice, Penniston Whaley, who had fined many of those called Quakers, for frequenting their religious meetings, encouraged the people at the sessions to persecute the Quakers without any pity, saying to them, "Harden your hearts against them ; for the act of the 35th of queen Elizabeth is not made against the Papists ; since the church of Rome is a true church, as well as any other church ; but these Quakers are erroneous and seditious persons. By these words one may easily judge to what religion this justice of peace was inclined ; but such dissemblers feigned to be Protestants, that so they might bear honourable offices. I pass by unmentioned many persons, who by beating, pushing, trampling, were grievously abused in their meetings, to that degree, that some not long survived the violence com-

mitted on them, and felt the painfulness or smart of it till death.

This year about Midsummer, Thomas Bud deceased at Ivelchester in Somersetshire, after having been prisoner about eight years and a half, because for conscience sake he could not swear. Some hours before his death, he was heard to say, "That he had renewed his covenant with God, and was well satisfied in it, and that he believed God would sustain him by the right hand of his justice; and that he rejoiced and thanked God that all his children walked in the way of the Lord."

At Warborough in Oxfordshire, those called Quakers were also most grievously abused in their religious meetings, and even aged women not spared: which often caused the cry of innocent children to go up to heaven, when they saw their mothers thus ill treated. For magistrates themselves to break their canes to pieces on those that were met together, was but an ordinary thing; and then sometimes other sticks were made use of: often also women were stripped of their upper garments; and this accompanied with the spoil of goods. That the persecutors thus enraged, was not strange, when we consider that some were stirred up to it by their teachers; an instance of which was given by Robert Priest of the same place, who once said in his sermon, that the king's laws,

though they were contrary to the law of God, yet ought to be obeyed. Quite otherwise was the doctrine of the apostles Peter and John, when they staid to the Jewish council, "Judge ye whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto you more than unto God."

In Northamptonshire, where persecution was also very hot, the bishop of Peterborough said publicly in the steeple house, after he had commanded the officers to put in execution the last act against seditious meetings, "Against all fanatics it hath done its business, except the Quakers; but when the parliament sits again a stronger law will be made, not only to take away their lands and goods, but also to sell them for bond slaves." Thus the churchmen blew the fire of persecution.

At York also, the spoiling of goods was fiercely driven on by alderman Richardson; and even boys and girls, that were under sixteen years of age, and therefore not subject to the penalty of the law, were fined; and when the constables shewed themselves unwilling to assist in the robbery, they were snarled at, and one persecuted for not performing his duty, because he had refused to take away a man's cloak. But if I should mention the ill usage committed in all counties and places, when should I come to a conclusion!

Thomas Green, a grave man, with whom I

have been very familiarly acquainted, being in prayer at a meeting at Sabridgworth in Hertfordshire, was pulled off his knees, and dragged out; and being brought before the justices Robert Joslin and Humphrey Gore, they fined him £20. for speaking or preaching at the said meeting; and granted a warrant to John Smith and Paul Tomson, constables, to distrain; upon which they went into the said Thomas Green's shop at Royston, [and took away as much goods as were worth 05l. But this did not quench his zeal; for like a true and faithful pastor he continued to feed the flock, and to edify the church with his gift: in which he was very serviceable.

At another time, the justices Peter Soames and Thomas Mead gave a warrant to distrain 20l. worth of goods from the said Thomas Green, for preaching at a meeting at Upper Chissel in Essex. And the officers going to Thomas Green's shop, took all they could get, leaving nothing in the shop but a skein of thread, which was fallen on the ground, and not observed by them.

Theophilus Green, suffered also great spoil of goods: for having preached in a meeting at Kingston-upon-Thames, he was put into the stocks for some hours, and fined twenty pounds. And having preached the three next first days

of the week at Wandsworth, was for each fined at the same rate.

The week following, being at Uxbridge, and visiting some poor children of his friends, whose father and mother died shortly one after another, he took two of them as his own, and looked after the disposing of the rest. And staying there till the first day of the week, he went to the meeting, and exhorted his friends, to keep their meetings in the name of Jesus: at the speaking of which words the constable and informer came in, and carried him away to justice Ralph Hawtrey, who fined him 20l. and sent him prisoner to Newgate in London, with a mittimus; wherein he charged him, that he had exhorted the people to keep their meetings in the name of Jesus, notwithstanding the laws of men to the contrary. Warrants being issued forth to make distress for the above mentioned fines, which amounted to 100l. 5s. they came and opened his doors, and took away all his goods they found, leaving him neither bed nor stool. And after he had been kept prisoner three months, he with seven more was brought to the sessions house at Hicks's hall, and the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were tendered to them. To which his plea was, "As an Englishman I ought either to be acquitted or condemned, for the cause for which I was committed, before I should answer to any other

matter or cause. Besides, I look upon myself to be illegally committed, as being fined and committed for the same fact." But they told him, he must answer whether he would swear or no, and then he should be heard. But continuing to refuse swearing, he was remanded to prison with the rest; and afterwards being sent for again, and still unwilling to break Christ's command, not to swear at all, the sentence of premunire was read against him and his fellow prisoners, and so they continued in jail above two years, till they were discharged by an act of grace from the king.

The meetings of those called Quakers were miserably disturbed in Horslydown in the county of Surry. On the 25th of September several musketeers came into the meeting-house, and haling those that were met together in the street, the troopers came riding amongst them, and beat and abused them violently, pushing them with their carbines, which the others did with their but ends of their muskets, to that degree, that above twenty persons were wounded and sorely bruised; nay, so desperately wicked were these mischievous fellows, that a party of horse sought to ride over these harmless people; but the horses, more merciful than their riders, and not going forward, they turned them, and by curbing and reining them backward, strove to do what mischief they could. On the 2d of

October these peaceable people being kept out of their meeting-place, there came a party of foot, and a party of horse, and abused them no less violently than the week before; insomuch that with beating and knocking they broke several of their muskets and pikes, and one carbine, and above thirty persons were so sorely wounded and bruised, that their blood was spilled in the streets.

On the 9th of the said month the soldiers, both horse and foot, came again to the meeting at the aforesaid place, and one of them having a shovel, threw the dirt and mire from the channels on both men and women; and after him the horse and foot came, and fell upon them, striking and knocking down, without respect to age and sex, until they drew blood from many; and when some of the inhabitants in pity took them into their houses, to save their lives, the soldiers forced open the door, and haled them into the street again, and plucked off their hats, that they might strike on their bare heads; insomuch that many had their heads grievously broken. Some troopers also tore the women's clothes off their backs, and haled them through the mire by their horses sides; and some of the foot soldiers put their hands in a most shameful manner under the women's coats: nay, a soldier twice struck a woman, that was big with child, with his musket on the belly, and once on the

breast, whilst another flung dirt in her face : so that she miscarried. And above fifty persons were this day sorely wounded and bruised. The 16th of the said month these conscientious people meeting again to perform their worship to God, a great party of horse and foot came, and fell to beating them so violently, as if they would have killed all on the spot ; so that the blood ran down about the ears of many ; and one of the constables endeavouring to stop the wicked crew from shedding more blood, they fell upon him also and broke his head ; and when they were rebuked for their cruel dealing, some said, " If you knew what orders we have, you would say we dealt mercifully with you." And being asked, " How can you deal thus with a people that make no resistance nor opposition ?" They answered, " We had rather, and it would be better for us, if you did resist and oppose." By which it appeared plainly, that this mischief was done to provoke opposition, that so they might have imbrued their hands in the blood of these sufferers, and so have had their lives and goods for a prey. It was therefore thought convenient to acquaint the king and his council with this barbarous cruelty ; which had such effect, that some stop was made to these excessive cruelties, though their abuses did not altogether cease.

About this time it happened that Solomon

Eccles came to Cork in Ireland, and went into the cathedral, where the priest Benjamin Cross preached in a surplice; and having formerly been a Presbyterian preacher in Dorsetshire in England, had there said, that he had rather go to a stake and be burned, than to put on a surplice. This priest (now become a turn-coat for gain) having finished his sermon, and concluded with a prayer, Solomon Eccles said, that the prayer of the wicked was an abomination to the Lord. And knowing the deceitfulness of the said priest, and his being an apostate, he added, "What shall be done to the man that makes shipwreck of a good conscience?" For this he was taken, and by the mayor committed to prison, where being kept ten days, he was accused as a vagabond, and without any examination, whipped along the streets of Cork, from North-gate to South-gate, and received about ninety stripes, and then was expelled. We have seen heretofore instances of his great zeal; and though in some respect he might by it have been transported a little too far, yet he gave proofs of a sincere heart; for having said some years after to one John Story (who launched out into great haughtiness and arrogancy) that it was the word of the Lord that he should die that year (which by somebody to set a gloss upon it,, was interpreted to be meant of the spiritual death,) yet Eccles himself said after-

wards both at London, and Bristol, and elsewhere, that he had not spoken this according to the counsel of the Lord ; but that it had been in his own will, and from a forward mind ; and that he had felt the anger of the Lord, because he had called these his own words the word of the Lord ; which he really repented of.

In the beginning of the year 1671 G. Fox was in London, and though by reason of a heavy sickness, of which he began to recover, he continued still weak, yet he did not omit preaching ; and about this time he made the following prayer to the Lord, which he put in writing ;

“ O Lord God Almighty ! prosper truth, and preserve justice and equity in the land, and bring down all injustice and iniquity, oppression and falsehood, and cruelty, and unmercifulness in the land, that mercy and righteousness may flourish.

“ And, O Lord God ! establish and set up verity, and preserve it in the land : and bring down in the land all debauchery, and vice, and whoredoms, and fornication ; and this raping spirit, which causeth and leadeth people to have no esteem of thee, O God ! nor their souls nor bodies, nor of Christianity, modesty, or humanity.

“ And, O Lord ! put it in the magistrates’

hearts, to bring down all this ungodliness, and violence, and cruelty, profaneness, cursing and swearing: and to put down all these whore-houses and play-houses, which do corrupt youth and people, and lead them from the kingdom of God, where no unclean thing can enter, neither shall come: but such works lead people to hell. And the Lord in mercy bring down all these things in the nation, to stop thy wrath, O God! from coming on the land.

This prayer was written the 17th day,
at night of the 2d month, 1671.

“G. Fox.”

G. Fox thinking his wife now at liberty, understood that her enemies, notwithstanding the king's order to release her, had found means to hold her still in prison. Therefore he did not give himself rest, till by the help of others he obtained from the king a discharge under the great seal, to clear both her and her estate, after she had been ten years a prisoner, and premunired. This royal order he sent forthwith down to her, and thus she was set at liberty.

Now since the heat of persecution began to cool, he felt himself inclined to make a voyage to America, to visit his friends there. Of this his intention he gave notice to his wife by letter,

and desired her to come up to London; which she did accordingly. And he having taken leave of her, set sail in the latter part of the summer towards America, with several of his friends that accompanied him.

Now whilst I leave him on ship-board, I cannot forbear to mention, that this year in London came forth a witty pamphlet with this title, *An easy Way to get Money cum Privilegio*, without Fear or Cumber, printed for the Society of Informers. This book contained a satirical rebuke to the informers, and began thus: "To all you that can work, and will not; and to all those that through other ways of extravagancy have brought yourselves into debt, necessity, or other wants, (for your speedy supply and future support,) there is an opportunity put into your hands, that is both safe, profitable, and honourable. It is to be informers."

Next the author said, "That it was an easy way, since it was no more than to seek out where there were in any house, barn, stable, or backside, five persons besides those of the family; though they spoke never a word. If you do but swear it (thus he continued) to be a conventicle, then it is a conventicle. It is no matter if there were never a thought in their hearts as to plotting or contriving insurrections; (for which the law was made) they being there, it is sufficient to have them fined five shillings

a piece the first time, and twenty pounds for the house ; and for the second time ten shillings a piece : and if the justices be not well advised, it may be for the second time for the house you may get twenty pounds more, although the act doth not grant it. And of all this it is said, the thirds is yours : this you may easily have ; for the justices are afraid of your power, since you have them under your lee ; so they will not much question you, lest they be counted fanatics ; and they know that if they do not please your wills, your power is such, that you may recover fifty pounds for your parts, by action, suit, bill, or plea, in any of his majesty's courts at Westminster, wherein no essoign, protection, or wager of law shall lie. Can your heart's desire more ? Who will not be informers ? That must have all clauses construed most largely and beneficially to their justification and encouragement !”

As to the profitableness, the author said, “ Besides the twenty pounds and ten shillings a piece for meeting, if you can but tempt any by your questions, or other provocations, to speak but a word to answer you, it will serve to make him a preacher, and then for the first time there is twenty pounds, and for the second forty pounds. It is no matter what is spoken, or to what concern ; if you swear you did hear such an one speak, it is enough to make him a

preacher. And as to the inability, there is no danger that you should fall short of your salary; for you can by your power make void that old proverb, Where it is not to be had, the king must lose his right. But your prerogative is such, that if the offender hath it not, you can command your servants to levy it on any other that is not an offender in that nature provided he be there, otherwise an appeal will be granted."

At this rate the author treated the matter, taking out of the way all difficulties and scruples which any might have objected; and though he did this mostly in a burlesque way, yet what he said was so firm and strenuous, that he gave proofs of being a man of understanding, and of a great wit; for though in an ingenious way he shewed the abomination of this informing trade, yet he proposed it safe every way: and if any might tell them they were knights of the post; yet however the thing fell out, it was never attended with loss, but always with a certain gain; since in the prosecution nothing could be objected, but what might easily be quashed, and the opposers thus frustrated. "And when to all these infallible profits was added the honourableness of the office, what could one desire more? For was it not honourable indeed, to command both magistrates and military officers, to follow the

informers where they will ? And to obtain this office, one needed not to be at great cost to purchase it, nor to break his pate with studying ; since at the very first conventicle they entered, they might commence doctors." But of what religion or profession these informers should be, the author himself seemed not to know : " They must be no Jews," said he, " for these were not to covet their neighbour's ox, nor ass, nor any thing that was their neighbour's ; neither should they be gentiles, for they had conscience accusing, and did by nature the things contained in the law, having the law written in their hearts. And Christians they could be by no means ; for they say they forsake the devil and all his works, and all the lusts of the flesh, and not to hurt any by word nor deed, which is less than by swearing," [the common fact of the informers.]—To conclude, the author said : " For any into whose hands this may come, if they fear any danger in it, they ought not to conceal it, but to bring it before some justice, or the chief magistrate of the place, with an account how they came by it, and then they are innocent : then if it cannot clear itself, let it lie in prison till it perish."

Now I return to George Fox, whom we left in the ship going to America. During his voyage he suffered much in his body ; for the many hurts and bruises he had formerly re-

ceived, and the griefs and infirmities he had contracted in England by cold, and hardships, and long imprisonments, returned upon him now he came to sea, and caused great pain. And after having been seven weeks and some odd days at sea, he, with his fellow-travellers, came safe to the island of Barbadoes. His occurrences there he hath described at large in his Journal. Many of the great ones, especially the governor, shewed him much kindness. And after he had edified his friends there on many occasions; and exhorted them to the maintaining of good order, both in things relating to the church, and in the governing of their blacks; he now, being restored to health again, departed the island after a stay of three months, and set sail for Jamaica, where he had not been long, before Elizabeth Hooton, several times mentioned in this work, departed this life, having been well the day before she died; and thus she finished her days in a good frame of mind. After he had been there about seven weeks, he performed his service to his satisfaction.

In the beginning of the year 1672, he took shipping for Maryland, where being come, he with those with him travelled through woods and wildernesses, over bogs and great rivers, to New-England. By the way he had sometimes opportunity to speak to the Indians and their kings; and at other times he met with

singular cases, all which, for brevity's sake, I pass by in silence. He went also to the town formerly called New Amsterdam, which name now is changed into that of New York. Here he lodged at the governor's house, and had also a meeting there. From thence he returned again to Maryland, and came also into Virginia, and Carolina, and thus spent above a year travelling to and fro in America.

Whilst he was there, England and France were entered into war against Holland. Now though I have yet in remembrance those sad times; and in what a wonderful manner it pleased the Lord to save our country from being quite over-run and subdued, yet I shall not mention those things, since they are at large set down by other writers. Yet transiently I will give a touch of the remarkable exaltation of William III. prince of Orange, and afterwards king of Great Britain.

I have already said in its due place, how it was endeavoured to exclude him by the perpetual edict from ever being Stadtholder, or deputy. But how strong soever this edict was sworn to, yet heaven brought it to nought, and broke the ties of it by the refuse of the nation: for women, and many others of the mob, forced the magistrates, when the French were come into the province of Utrecht, and all seemed to run into confusion; to break their oaths, and to

restore that young and magnanimous prince to the honour and dignity of his renowned ancestors. The miserable fate of the two brethren, John and Cornelius de Wit, who had been chief instruments in making the said perpetual edict, and were killed and butchered in a most abominable manner by the inhabitants of the Hague, was not without good reason disapproved by many grave and serious people. It is true, it was a great mistake that they acted so, that they seemed to set limits to the Almighty: though I do not believe their intent was such, but rather that what they did in making void the stadtholdership, they judged conducive to the benefit of their country. After they were murdered, the widow of Cornelius de Wit seemed to have a firm belief that they were entered into everlasting glory: for though for some time after their death she was under a great concern, considering how on a sudden, and at unawares, they were hurried out of this life; yet at length, early in the morning, either in a dream or in a vision, she beheld them both in a cloud in a glorious form, with hands lifted up, and clothed with pure white raiment. By this sight all her former solicitude and fear were taken from her, and she was fully satisfied concerning their eternal well being. I have this relation from several credible persons, who

said they had it from her own mouth ; and they all agreed in the material circumstances.

In England, where it was observed that persecution for religion, during the war, could not but be prejudicial to the public, the king published a declaration, whereby the execution of the penal laws was suspended. But since the Papists, against whom most of these laws had been made, thus got liberty to enter into offices of trust, many of the people grew jealous on this account ; insomuch that the parliament, in the year 1673, shewed their dislike to the king, telling him, that the penal statutes about ecclesiastical matters could not be suspended but by an act of parliament. The king wanting money to continue the war, yielded somewhat to the parliament, in respect to the Popish priests and jesuits, consenting that the laws against them should continue in force.

This summer G. Fox returned to England, and arrived at Bristol, of which he gave notice to his wife by a letter ; and she delayed not to go to him ; with her came also her son-in-law Thomas Lower, and two of her daughters : her other son-in-law John Rouse, accompanied by William Penn, &c. came also from London ; and since at that time there was a fair at Bristol, many of his friends came thither from other parts of the country, and so were at a

great meeting he had there, in which he preached concerning the three chief teachers, viz. "That God was the first teacher of man and woman in paradise; and that as long as they kept to God's teaching, they kept in the image of God, and in righteousness, holiness, and dominion over all that God had made: but when they hearkened to the false teaching of the serpent, who was out of truth, and so disobeyed God, they lost the image of God, to wit, righteousness and holiness; and so coming under the power of Satan were turned out of paradise. That this serpent was the second teacher, and that man following his teaching, came into misery and into the fall. And that Christ Jesus was the third teacher, of whom God said, "This is my beloved son in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him:" and that this Son himself said, "Learn of me:" that he was the true gospel teacher, that never fell, and therefore was to be heard in all things, since he was the Saviour and the Redeemer, and having laid down his life, had bought his sheep with his precious blood. Of this he treated at large in the said meeting. After some stay in Bristol, he went to Gloucestershire; and going from thence to Oxfordshire he came at length to London, where persecution being not so hot now as formerly, the Baptists and Socinians were very active in blackening the

Quakers, by publishing several books against them, in which they averred that the Quakers were no Christians. But these malicious books were not left unanswered, nor the falsehoods contained in them.

After G. Fox had been some time in London, he went with his wife and Thomas Lower to Worcester; and when he signified to her that it was likely a prison would be his share, she seemed not without reason grieved at it. And not long after having had a meeting at Armscot in Tredington parish, after the meeting was ended; he, with Thomas Lower sitting in the parlour, and discoursing with some friends, they both were under pretence of having kept great meetings that might be prejudicial to the public peace, taken by Henry Parker, justice, and sent to Worcester jail, on the 17th of December, and his wife with her daughter returned into the north; and by that time he thought she could be got home, he wrote a short letter to her, and exhorted her to be content with the will of the Lord. He also wrote a letter to the lord Windsor, who was lieutenant of Worcestershire, and other magistrates, wherein he informed them of his imprisonment, and that he had not been taken in a meeting, but in a house where he had some business. He also signified, that he intended to have visited his mother, from which he had now been stopped. But he could not

thus obtain his liberty; yet Thomas Lower might have got free if he would; for his brother Dr. Lower, being one of the king's physicians, had procured Henry Savil a gentleman of the king's bedchamber, to write to the said lord Windsor to release Thomas Lower: but his love to his father-in-law, G. Fox, was such that he kept the said letter by him unsent; and so they were both continued prisoners.

Now whilst I leave them in prison, I return once more to Miles Halhead, of whom mention hath been often made already. He being at Plymouth in this year, felt himself stirred up to go see John Lambert, who having formerly been a general, was now, as hath been said in due place, confined to perpetual imprisonment, in a little island not far from Plymouth. To this island Halhead passed over, and though he found there a strong guard of soldiers, yet he got leave to see Lambert; and being come to him, he said, "Friend, is thy name John Lambert?" To which Lambert answered, "Yea:" which made Miles say, "Then I pray thee, friend, hear what the servant of the Lord hath to say to thee;" and he continued thus: "Friend, the Lord God made use of thee and others for the deliverance of his people, and when you cried to him, he delivered you in your distresses, as at Dunbar, and other places, and gave an opportunity into your hands to do

good ; and you promised what great things you would do for the Lord's people : but truly John Lambert, ye soon forgot your promises ye made to the Lord in that day and time of your great distress, and turned the edge of your sword against the Lord's servants and handmaids, whom he sent forth to declare his eternal truth ; and made laws, and consented to laws, and suffered and permitted laws to be made against God's people." To this Lambert said, "Friend, I would have you know, that some of us never made laws, nor consented to laws to persecute you, or any of your friends : for persecution we ever were against." To which Miles returned, "It may be so ; but the Scripture of truth is fulfilled by the best of you : for although thou and some others have not given your consent to make laws against the Lord's people, yet ye suffered and permitted it to be made and done ; and when power and authority was in your hands, ye might have spoken the word, and the servants and handmaids of the Lord might have been delivered out of the devourers hands : but none was found amongst you that would be seen to plead the cause of the innocent ; so the Lord God of life was grieved with you, because ye slighted the Lord and his servants, and began to set up your self-interest, and to lay field to field, and house to house, and make your names great in the earth. Then the Lord took away

your power and authority, your manhood and your boldness, and caused you to flee before your enemies, and your hearts fainted with fear, and some ended their days in grief and sorrow, and some lay in holes and caves to this day. So the Lord God of heaven and earth will give a just reward to every one according to his works. So my dear friend, prize the great love of God to thee, who hath not given thy life into the hands of the devourers, but hath given thee thy life for a prey, and time to prepare thyself, that thou mayst end thy days in peace. And truly the Lord is good to all them that fear him, and believe in his name: for though all the powers of earth rise up against a poor innocent people, yet the Lord God of life and love was with them, and pleaded their cause, although all men slighted them: and truly, the best was but as a briar, and the most upright among them as a thorn-hedge. If the Lord had not pleaded our innocency, we had not had a being in the land of our nativity, glory to his name for ever, who hath not suffered or permitted more of the wrath of man, nor laws, nor decrees of men, to come against his people, that believe in his name, than hath been for his honour, and for his glory, and for the eternal good of all his sons and daughters, and servants; and the remainder the Lord God of life and love hath restrained to this day: glory, and honour, and

living eternal praises be given and returned to the Lord God, and the Lamb for ever !”

Thus Halhead ended his speech, and Lambert, who had heard him with good satisfaction, desired him to sit down, which Halhead did ; and then Lambert called for beer, and gave him to drink ; after which, he said to him, “ Friend, I do believe thou speakest to me in love, and so I take it.” And then he asked him, if he was at Dunbar fight ? To which Halhead having answered No ; he further asked, “ How do you know what great danger we were in at that time ?” Upon which Halhead gave him to understand, that he coming that way a little time after the fight, and having viewed the town of Dunbar, and the ground about it where the English army lay, how the sea was on the one hand of them, and hills and mountains on the other, and the great Scotch army before and behind them, he then took into serious consideration, the great danger the English had been in, and thought how greatly the Englishmen were engaged to the Lord for their deliverance, to serve him in truth and uprightness of heart all the days of their life. “ Truly John,” said Halhead, then to Lambert, “ I never saw thy face before to know thee, although I have been brought before many of our English commanders in the time of Oliver Cromwell.” Lambert then asking, who they were, Halhead named

the generals Fleetwood and Desborough, major Blackmore, and colonel Fenwick, before whom he had been when he was governor of Edinburgh. Lambert then said, he knew the most of those men to have been very moderate, and that they ever were against persecution. To which Miles replied, "Indeed they were very moderate, and would not be much seen to persecute, or be severe with the Lord's people; but truly they permitted others to do it, and took little notice of the sufferings of the people of God; so that none were found to plead our cause, but the Lord God." To this Lambert said, "Although you and your friends suffered persecution, and some hardships in that time, your cause therein is never the worse for that." "That is very true," returned Miles, "but let me tell thee in the plainness of my heart, that is no thanks to you, but glory to the Lord for ever." About two hours Miles discoursed with Lambert, and his wife and two daughters, and after he had cleared himself, he took leave of them and so parted in love.

Now before I leave Halhead, I will insert here a copy of a letter he wrote in the year 1674; to G. Fox, who was then prisoner in Worcester jail; the said letter was thus.

"George Fox,
"Thou dear and well beloved of the Lord,

whom he sent, out of his eternal love to me, and many more, who were in darkness and in blindness, seeking the living among the dead, to shew and direct us into the way that leads out of sin and evil, up to God eternal, blessed for evermore. The living, eternal God of life and love, that sent thee into the north, keep and preserve me by his eternal arm and power and all my dear friends and brethren, truly sensible of his eternal love, which I bear record hath been exceeding great, since the day of the Lord made his precious truth known amongst us. Therefore, dear George Fox, pray for me, for I am old, and infirm of body, and the sight of my eyes grows exceeding weak, that I may be kept faithful and upright to the Lord, in my measure I have received of the Lord, in this day of his eternal love; that I may give my account with joy and rejoicing, and gladness of heart, and be presented with thee, and all my brethren, blameless to the Lord, that I may go to my grave in peace, and rest for evermore. Amen.

“My dear love to my good old friends, Margaret Fox, and Thomas Lower; their dear and tender love and care of me in months past, by me cannot be forgotten, as I dwell and abide faithful to him, who is my light and life, my joy and peace, God over all, blessed for evermore. Amen.

“Miles Halhead.”

In the month called January, 1674, G. Fox, and Thomas Lower, were brought to their trial in the court at Worcester, it being the last day of the sessions ; and when they came in, those on the bench were struck with paleness in their faces, and continued a while speechless, inso-much that a butcher in the hall said, " What ! are they afraid ? Dare not the justices speak to them ? " At length justice Parker by whose order, G. Fox and T. Lower had been committed, made a long speech, much to the same effect as the contents of the mittimus, and added, that he thought it a milder course to send them two to jail, than to put his neighbours to the loss of two hundred pounds, which they must have suffered, if he had put the law in execution against conventicles. But this was a very poor shift, and silly evasion ; for there being no meeting when he came, nor any to inform, he had no evidence to convict them, or his neighbours by. When Parker had ended his speech, the justices spoke to the prisoners, and began with Lower, whom they examined why he came into that country. And when they had done with him, they asked G. Fox an account of his travels, which he gave them, and shewed them clearly, that he and his friends, of whom so great a noise had been made by justice Parker, as if many had come together from several parts, were in a manner all but one fam-

ily. When he had ended speaking, the chairman Simpson said, "Your relation or account is very innocent." Then he and Parker having whispered awhile together, the said chairman stood up and said, "You Mr. Fox, are a famous man, and all this may be true which you have said; but that we may be the better satisfied, will you take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy?" Now, though G. Fox answered to this, that they had said they would not insnare him, and that this was a plain snare, since they knew he and his friends would not take any oath; all was in vain, and they caused the oath to be read, which being done, he told them, "I never took an oath in my life, but I have always been true to the government. I was cast into the dungeon at Derby, and kept prisoner six months there, because I would not take up arms against king Charles, at Worcester fight; and for going to meetings, I was carried out of Leicester, and brought before Oliver Cromwell, as a plotter to bring in king Charles; and ye know in your consciences, that we, the people called Quakers, cannot take an oath, or swear in any case, because Christ had forbidden it; but as to the matter or substance contained in the oaths, this I can and do say, that I do own and acknowledge the king of England to be lawful heir and successor to the realm of England; and do abhor all plots and plotters, and contrivances

against him ; and I have nothing in my heart but love and good will to him and all men, and desire his and their prosperity ; the Lord knows it, before whom I stand an innocent man. And as to the oath of supremacy, I deny the pope and his power, and abhor it with my heart."— Whilst he was yet speaking, they cried, give him the book, viz. the Bible. The book, saith G. Fox, saith swear not at all : " and he going on to declare his mind farther, they cried, "Take him away jailor : who not shewing himself very forward, they cried again, "Take him away : we shall have a meeting here ; why do you not take him away ?" And one of the bench said, "That fellow," meaning the jailor, "loves to hear him preach." The jailor then taking him away, as he was turning from them, he said, "The Lord forgive you, who cast me into prison for obeying the doctrine of Christ." After G. Fox was led away, the justices told T. Lower, he was at liberty ; for they did not think it safe to deal with him at the same rate as they did with G. Fox, because they thought he had some protection at court. Lower asked then, why his father-in-law might not be set at liberty, as well as he, since they were both taken together, and their case was alike ? But they telling him, they would not hear him, said, you may be gone about your business, for we have

nothing more to say to you, seeing you are discharged.

This was all he could get from them ; therefore after the court was risen, he went to speak with them at their chamber, desiring to know, what cause they had to detain his father, seeing they had discharged him ; and wishing them to consider, whether this was not partiality. Upon this Simpson said, " If you be not content, we will tender you the oath also, and send you to your father." To which Lower replied, " Ye may do that if ye think fit ; but whether ye send me or no, I intend to go, and wait upon my father in prison ; for that is now my business in this country." Then justice Parker said to him : " Do you think Mr. Lower, that I had no cause to send your father and you to prison, when you had such a great meeting, insomuch that the parson of the parish complained to me, that he had lost the greatest part of his parishioners ; so that when he comes amongst them, he hath scarce any auditors left." To this Lower returned, " I have heard that the priest of that parish comes so seldom to visit his flock but once, it may be, or twice in a year, to gather up his tithes, that it was but charity in my father to visit such a forlorn and forsaken flock : and therefore thou hadst no cause to send my father to prison for visiting them, or for teaching, instructing, and directing them to Christ their

true teacher, who had so little comfort or benefit from their pretended pastor, who comes amongst them only to seek for his gain from his quarter." Upon this the justices fell a laughing; for Dr. Crowder, the priest spoken of, was then in the room, sitting among them: though Lower did not know him, and he had the wit to hold his tongue, and not to vindicate himself. But after Lower was gone away, the justices so jested on Crowder, that he grew ashamed; and was so nettled with it, that he threatened to sue T. Lower in the bishops court, upon an action of defamation: which Lower having heard of, sent him word, that he might begin if he would; and that he would answer him, and bring his whole parish in evidence against him. And he told him the same afterwards to his face; which so cooled the priest's eagerness, that he thought it more safe for him to let him alone.

Soon after the sessions were over, an *habeas corpus* was sent down to Worcester, for the Sheriff to bring up G. Fox to the king's bench bar; whereupon his son-in-law, Lower, conducted him: for the under sheriff had made Lower his deputy, to convey G. Fox to London: who being arrived there, appeared before the court of king's bench, where he found the judges moderate, and they patiently heard him, when he gave them an account how he had been stopped in his journey, and committed to

jail; and how at his trial, the oath of allegiance and supremacy had been tendered to him; and also what he had offered to the justices as a declaration, that he was willing to sign, instead of the said oaths. To this it was told him by the chief justice, that they would consider farther of it. Being then delivered to the keeper of the king's bench, he was suffered to go and lodge at the house of one of his friends; for though he continued a prisoner, yet they were sufficiently persuaded that he would not run away. But after this, justice Parker, as it was said, moved the court, that G. Fox might be sent back to Worcester, that his cause might be tried there; for Parker saw clearly, that if G. Fox had been acquitted here, this would have tended to his shame, for having committed him unjustly.

A day then being appointed for another hearing, and G. Fox appearing again at the king's bench, and hearing that it was under deliberation to send him back to Worcester, signified, that this was only to insnare him, by putting the oath to him, that so they might premunire him, who never took oath in his life. And he farther told them, if he broke his yea or nay, he was content to suffer the same penalty as those that break their oaths. Now seeing Parker had spread a report in London, and it had been said in the parliament house, that when he

took G. Fox, there were many substantial men with him, out of several parts of the nation, and that they had a design, or plot in hand, G. Fox did not omit to shew the fallacy of that malicious story : and since he thus laid open Parker's shame, it was not strange, that by his friends at court, he procured that the king's judges complied with his desire that G. Fox should be remanded to Worcester jail : insomuch that whatever he said, he could not prevent it ; only this favour was granted him, that he might go his own way, and at his leisure, provided he would be there without fail by the assizes, which were to begin on the second day of the month called April.

G. Fox then after some stay, went down leisurely, and being come to Worcester, he was on the second day of the aforesaid month, brought from the jail, to an inn near the sessions hall ; but not being called that day, the jailor came to him that night, and told him he might go home, meaning to the jail : whereupon he walked thither, being accompanied by one of his friends. Next day being brought up again, a boy of about eleven years old was set to be his keeper. Having in my relation of the proceedings before the king's bench past by most part of the pleading, so I shall do here likewise, to avoid repetitions of what hath been several times related already, concerning such

kind of trials ; yet I cannot pass by in silence, that after he had given an account of his journey before he was taken, he added, that since his imprisonment, he had understood, that his mother, who was an ancient and weak woman, and had desired to see him before she died, hearing that he was stopped, and imprisoned in his journey, so that he was not likely to come and see her, it struck her so, that she died soon after ; which had been very hard to him. Judge Turner, who formerly had been very severe to him, seemed now (as some thought) inclined to have him set at liberty, since he saw they had nothing justly against him ; but Parker, who had committed him, endeavoured to incense the judge against him : for if he had been released, then he himself must have borne the blame of having committed G. Fox unjustly ; and therefore he told the judge, that G. Fox was a ringleader ; that many of the nation followed him ; and one knew not what it might come to. Yet the judge gave but little ear to all this, being willing to be easy ; but he could not resolve to do this, by setting G. Fox at liberty, lest he should displease others ; and thus in conclusion, G. Fox and his cause were referred to the sessions again, and he continued prisoner, but with this proviso, that he should have the liberty of the town ; which accordingly he had.

By this he got opportunity to speak with many persons, and sometimes with priests too, one of which asked him, whether he was grown up to perfection? To which he answered, "What he was, he was by the grace of God." This is, replied the priest, a modest and civil answer. "But," continued he, in the words of the apostle John, "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." And asking what he said to that? G. Fox returned with the words of the same apostle "If we say that we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us." Moreover he said, "Christ came to destroy sin, and to take away sin. There is a time for people to see that they have sinned, and there is a time for them to confess their sin, and to forsake it, and to know the blood of Christ to cleanse from all sin." After some more reasoning, the priest said, "We must always be sinning;" to which G. Fox returned, that it was a sad and comfortless sort of striving, to strive with a belief that we should never overcome: and he told him also, that Paul, who once cried out because of the body of death, did also thank God, who gave him the victory: and that he said there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus: so that there was a time of crying out for want of victory, and a time of praising God for the victory. But, said the priest, "Job was

not perfect." To which G. Fox returned that God hath signified in Scripture, that Job was perfect and upright, and that he eschewed evil : and that the devil himself was forced to confess, that God had set an hedge about him ; which was not an outward hedge, but the invisible heavenly power. Yet Job said, replied the priest, "He charged his angels with folly, and the heavens are not clean in his sight." "That is a mistake, said G. Fox, for it was not Job said so, but Eliphaz, who contended against Job." "Well but" said the priest, "what say you to that Scripture, the justest man that is, sinneth seven times a day?" "There is," answered G. Fox, "no such Scripture." So the priest was silent, and this conference broken off, of which I have related thus much, to shew that G. Fox was not such a simple person, as some from mere envy have represented him ; for he was never at a loss for an answer, but had it always in readiness.

Now the time of the sessions being come again, where the justice, who was chairman, was one Street, G. Fox, was called there before the justices, and then the said justice exceedingly misrepresented the case, by telling the people that G. Fox had a meeting at Tredington from all parts of the nation, to the terrifying of the king's subjects ; for which he had been committed, and that for the trial of his fidelity,

the oaths had been tendered to him. And then turning to G. Fox, he asked him, since he had time to consider of it, whether he would now take the oaths? G. Fox having obtained liberty to speak for himself, gave a relation of his journey, and shewed that he and his friends had in no wise kept a meeting that occasioned terror to any of the king's subjects; and as to the oaths, he shewed why he could not take them, and what he could declare instead thereof. But notwithstanding all this, the oaths were read to him again; and he persisting in his refusal to take them, the indictment was read also; and afterwards the chairman asked him, if he was guilty? G. Fox answered, "No since the indictment was a bundle of lies," which he proved in several particulars, asking him, if he did not know in his conscience that they were lies? To which he said it was their form. Whereupon G. Fox returned, it was not a true form. Then the chairman told the jury, what they should do in this case: and before they gave in their verdict, G. Fox said to them, that it was for Christ's sake, and in obedience to his and his apostle's command that he could not swear: "and therefore (said he) take heed what ye do; for before his judgment seat ye shall all be brought." The chairman then said, "This is canting." "Why," said G. Fox, "If to confess Christ our Lord and Saviour, and to obey

his command, be called canting by a judge of a court, it is to little purpose for me to say more among you. Yet ye shall see that I am a Christian, and shall shew forth Christianity; and my innocency shall be manifest." By this his speaking, the people generally were affected; but the jury however found the bill against him; which G. Fox nevertheless traversed. Thus the matter could not be finished now, and therefore he was asked to put in bail, till the next sessions; this he refused and warned his friends, that seemed willing to be bound for him, not to meddle with that, since there was a snare in it. Yet he told the justices, that he would promise to appear, if the Lord gave him health and strength, and he were at liberty. Some of the justices shewed themselves loving, and endeavoured to stop the rest from indicting him, or putting the oath to him. But the chairman said, he must go according to law. Yet liberty was given G. Fox to go at large, till next quarter sessions.

He then went up to London; where the time of the yearly meeting approached; but at the instance of some of his friends, he appeared again before the judges of the king's bench, and delivered to them the following declaration setting forth what he was ready to promise instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.

" This I do in the truth, and in the presence of God declare, that king Charles the second is lawful king of this realm; and of all others his dominions; and that he was brought in, and set up king over this realm by the power of God: and I have nothing, but love and good will to him and all his subjects, and desire his prosperity and eternal good. And I do utterly abhor and deny the pope's power and supremacy, and all his superstitious and idolatrous inventions; and I do affirm, that he hath no power to absolve sin: and I do abhor and detest his murderings of princes, or other people, by plots and contrivances. And likewise I do deny all plots and contrivances, and plotters and contrivers against the king and his subjects; knowing them to be works of darkness, and the fruits of an evil spirit, and against the peace of the kingdom, and not from the Spirit of God, the fruit of which is love. I dare not take an oath, because it is forbidden by Christ and the apostle: but if I break my yea or nay, then let me suffer the same penalty, as they that break their oaths.

" George Fox."

This declaration, being the substance of what oaths of allegiance and supremacy contain, G. Fox presented to the judges of the king' s bench; but the proceedings having gone on at Worces-

ter, they were unwilling to meddle with the business, but referred it to the next quarter sessions at Worcester.

The yearly meeting in London, at which he was, being over, he returned again to Worcester, where the sessions being held in the month called July, and he called to the bar, and the indictment read, justice Street caused the oaths to be read also, and tendered to him again. G. Fox then said, that he was come to traverse his indictment. But when he began to shew the errors that were in the indictment, viz. such as were sufficient to quash it, he was soon stopped, and the oath required of him; and he persisting in the refusal, was by the jury found guilty. The chairman, how active soever he had been against G. Fox yet was now troubled, and told him of a sad sentence he had to speak against him. To which G. Fox returned, that he had many more errors to assign in the indictment, besides those he had already mentioned. Whereupon the chairman told him, he was going to shew him the danger of a premunire, which was the loss of his liberty, and all his goods and chattels, and to endure imprisonment during life. But," added he, "I do not deliver this as the sentence of the court, but as an admonition to you." Then the jailor was bid to take him away; and G. Fox afterwards understood concerning this pretended admonition, that the

chairman had said to the clerk of the peace, that what he had spoken should stand for sentence.

Now whilst G. Fox was in prison, there came to him, amongst others, the earl of Salisbury's son, who was very loving, and much concerned that they had dealt so with him; and he himself took a copy in writing of the errors that were in the indictment. And G. Fox afterwards got the state of his case drawn up in writing delivered to judge Wild. He also wrote a letter to the king, wherein he gave an account of the sentiments of those called Quakers concerning swearing; and how they abhorred all plottings and contrivances against the king. Not long after he fell into such a sickness that some began to doubt of his recovery; and then one of his friends went to justice Parker, by whose order he had been first committed to prison, and desired him to give order to the jailor, that he might have liberty to go out of the jail into the city. Whereupon Parker wrote the following letter to the jailor.

“ Mr. Harris,

“ I have been much importuned by some friends to George Fox, to write to you. I am informed by them, that he is in a very weak condition, and very much indisposed. What lawful favour you can do for the benefit of the air, for

his health, pray shew him. I suppose the next term they will make application to the king. I am,

“ Sir, your loving friend,
“ Henry Parker.’

Evesham the 8th of
October, 1674.

This letter was sufficient warrant for the jailor to permit G. Fox to be brought from prison to the house of one of his friends. His wife was come to him before that time, and after having been with him about seventeen weeks, and no discharge likely to be obtained for him, she went up to London, and being come to Whitehall, and meeting with the king there, she gave him an account of her husband's long imprisonment, and how weak he was, and not without danger of his life. To which the king said, he could do nothing in it, but she must go to the chancellor. And so she went to the lord Finch, who was then chancellor; and having given him an account of the matter, she told him, that the king had left it wholly to him; and if he did not shew pity, and release her husband out of prison, she feared he would end his days there. But the chancellor said to her, that the king could not release him, otherwise than by a pardon. Now G. Fox could not resolve to be freed thus, as well knowing he had done no

evil ; and therefore he would rather have lain in prison all his days, than to be thus set at liberty ; otherwise he needed not to have lain so long, since the king had been willing long before to have given him a pardon ; and also had said to one Thomas More, that G. Fox needed not scruple being released by a pardon : for many a man, that was as innocent, as a child had had a pardon granted him. G. Fox unwilling to have a pardon, but desiring to have the validity of his indictment tried before the judges, the lord chancellor, who shewed himself a discreet man, procured that an *habeas corpus* was granted to bring G. Fox to London, once more to appear before the king's bench. The *habeas corpus* was with the first opportunity sent down by his wife to Worcester ; but there they would not part with him at first, (being now recovered a little of his sickness) under a pretence that he was premunired, and was not to go out in that manner. Thus it became necessary to send to London again ; and another order was got and sent down, to bring up G. Fox before the king's bench. Being still weak, he was carried up to London in a coach, the under sheriff and the clerk of the peace accompanying him.

Being come to town, he was brought before the four judges at the king's bench, where counsellor Thomas Corbet pleaded his cause, and

acquitted himself exceeding well; for he started a new plea, and told the judges, that by law they could not imprison any man upon a premunire. The judges then saying they must have time to look in their books; and to consult the statutes, the hearing was put off till the next day. And since it appeared that Corbet was in the right, they choose to let their plea fall, perhaps for fear of worse consequences. And thus they began to examine the errors of the indictment, which proved to be so many and so gross, that all the judges were of opinion, that the indictment was quashed and void, and that G. Fox ought to have his liberty. The same day several lords, and other great men, had the oaths of allegiance and supremacy tendered to them in the court; and some of G. Fox's adversaries moved the judges, that the oaths might be tendered to him again, saying, he was a dangerous man to be at liberty. But judge Matthew Hale, who was then lord chief justice of England, and really an excellent and pious man, as hath been hinted already here before, said, he had indeed heard some such reports of G. Fox, but he had also heard more good reports of him. This saying was serviceable; and Hale and the other judges ordered G. Fox to be freed by proclamation. Thus he was set at liberty in an honourable way, and his counsellor Corbet, who had pleaded for him, got great fame

by it; for many other lawyers told him, he had brought that to light, which had not been known before. And after the trial, one of the judges said to him, "You have obtained a great deal of honour by your way of pleading G. Fox's cause in court."

The year was now come to an end. But before I go over to the next, I am to mention that the Baptists in England, losing from time to time some of their best members, wrote therefore very fiercely against the Quakers, endeavouring thereby to render them no Christians. But those writings were continually answered, and that with so many convincing reasons, that the Quakers got more adherents by it. The consequence of this was, that a public dispute was appointed to be held between the Baptists and the Quakers, in the meeting house of the Baptists in London. For the Quakers, there spoke by turns, George Whitehead, Stephen Crisp, William Penn, and George Keith; and the opponents were Jeremy Ives, William Kiffin, Thomas Plant, Thomas Hicks, and Robert Ferguson, a Presbyterian, afterwards eminently known in Holland, by the fierce declaration drawn up by him in the name of the Duke of Monmouth, when that unhappy prince went over to England with forces, to dispute the throne against king James.

Jeremy Ives was an eminent teacher among the Baptists, that had been in prison in London fourteen years before on a religious account, and chiefly because for conscience sake, he refused to take the oath.

Not long after he wrote a smart letter from the prison, to two of his society (who having been imprisoned, with him for the same cause, had taken the oath, thereby to obtain their liberty) wherein he reproved them for their falling away, and signified that thus they had increased the burthen of their faithful brethren, from the bearing of which they had withdrawn themselves. But what a changeable creature is man, if he doth not continue watchful, and keep close to the divine grace, continually laying hold thereon ! For scarcely five days passed, but this inconstant Jeremy grew very weary of imprisonment, and took the oath also to get out of prison. Neither did he stop here ; for it is plain that he was now departed, from his profession. To temporize therefore, and to find out excuses for what he had done, he put forth a book in print, wherein he asserted the lawfulness of swearing. It was asked of him, whether he was that same Jeremy Ives, that once had been of such a tender conscience, that he durst not take an oath, and had afterwards publicly defended swearing as lawful ? And he did not deny the fact, for it was notoriously known :

but he went about to disguise the matter, and said, "I am the Jeremy who took the oath of allegiance, and wrote a book to prove that some oaths were lawful, though not all. Neither did he deny the fore mentioned letter, for it was extant, and written as followeth :

"Brother Pitman and Brother Shewel,

"I am at this time surprised with a holy passion ; and though Jonah could not say concerning the gourd, that he did well to be angry ; yet (if my experience in the word of the Lord doth not deceive) I can truly say, I do well to be angry with you ; whom I have had a godly jealousy of all along, viz. That you would be as easily persuaded to part with,—as unwilling to suffer for, your spiritual liberties. Oh my brethren ! Where is your first love ? How unlike the Christians in former times are you ! Whose zeal was so hot for God, that their eyes prevented the morning, that thereby they might prevent the rage of the adversary, who (as it is now, commanded them no more to worship in the name of the Lord.—I always did conclude, that those that would—quit the cause of righteousness—would quit the ways of holiness, as yesterday's sad experience hath taught, to the perpetual joy of your adversaries, and the saddening the hearts, and adding afflictions to the bonds of the prisoners of the

Lord. I do therefore conjure you, as you will answer the great God another day, to consider, that now is the time for you to look to your ministry, and to the flock over which the Lord hath made you overseers, that you may be able through grace to say, "You are clear from the blood of all men;" and observe, that God is now come to prove you, to see whether you will keep his commandments or not. Remember when that apostate's case was debated, you had no zeal nor indignation against him, but you smothered all with this, "If it were in a matter of faith and worship that he had fallen from, you would have been as one man against it." Well, behold the Lord is come home to you; the matter now is purely for worshipping God; now God is proving you to see whether you will obey him or no; and did not yesterday's work witness, that you were willing to prefer the fear of a man, that must die, before the fear of the great God: and the fear of them that can kill the body, before the fear of the Lord, that can cast body and soul into hell? I have no more to say but this, that your cowardly temporizing and complying with the precepts of men, makes me jealous, that your fear towards the Lord is taught by the precepts of men. I would not be too censorious, but my grounds are great; and my bonds are my crown, but your cowardly spirit is my great

cross. You little think what a scandal it is amongst us to hear it affirmed that one of you should say, you had rather given fifty pounds than have sworn, and yet swear that you swear willingly. Oh! for the Lord's sake do somewhat that may roll away this reproach; which that you may, is the prayers of your botherr, who could be contented to write himself,

“your companion in tribulation,

Jan. 14. 1660.

“Jer. Ives.”

Brother Ward my fellow prisoner desires to present his love to you, and so do some others.

Thus zealously Jer. Ives wrote to his fellow-teachers, who for human fear, and to avoid sufferings, had, against their profession, and the conviction of their consciences, taken the oath. But who could have imagined on sight of such a letter, that he himself within so short a space of time would have done that which he reproved so severely in others. Certainly in this case the saying of the prophet Jeremy seems to be very applicable, “The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked; who can know it? Let therefore him that standeth, be cautious lest he fall.” Happy had this man

been, if he had been so sensible of his transgression as one Edward Chilton, who though by profession a Quaker, yet when it came to a trial, either to take the oath of allegiance, or to be premunired, he wavered and fainted ; yet not so, that he fell away totally : for he became so penitent for the evil he had committed, that he found himself constrained to give proof thereof by a letter he wrote to his friends, who remained prisoners, because for conscience-sake they could not swear ; whereas he, to be released from imprisonment, had taken the oath that was demanded of him. But of what bitter relish this became to him, and what terror and horror he was seized with, the following letter will shew.

“ My dear friends,

“ I desire to lay before you this my condition in this my fall, that my fall may be no cause for you to stumble, but that you by it may be the more encouraged to stand ; for I have yielded to the betrayer, and so betrayed the innocent seed in me ; for I forsook the counsel of the Lord, and consulted with flesh and blood, and so I fell into the snare of the world, and yielded to the covenant ; and so I rested satisfied in what I had done, for some certain hours ; but when the Lord in his power looked back upon me, then I remembered what

I had done ; then I remembered that I had denied truth, which once I had professed, though once I thought I should have stood when others fell. So the terrors of the Lord have taken hold on me, and I lie under the judgments of the Lord.

“ And now I feel the truth of the words that were spoken by Christ, “ That he that faileth in one tittle, is guilty of all ;” and now I feel the truth of that, That it is better to forsake wife and children, and all that a man hath, even life itself, for Christ and the truth’s sake, than to break one tittle of the law of God written in the heart. So I hope that, by mercy and judgment, the Lord will redeem me to himself again. The Lord may suffer some to fall, that the standing of them that stand faithful may seem to be the more glorious, and for them to take heed lest they fall.

“ Now I know and feel, that it is better to part with any thing of this world, though it be as dear to one as the right hand, or the eye, than to break our peace with God.

“ Pray for me ; for my bonds are greater than yours.

“ Edward Chilton.”

Windsor, the 22d of the
11th month, 1660.

It is remarkable, that this Chilton in the conclusion of his letter saith, that his bonds were greater than those of his friends, who neither feared a premunire, nor loss of their liberty, when they must pay so dear for it, as the taking of an oath. For when any one truly abides in the fear of God, he dares not, against the convictions of his conscience transgress the divine commandments, and seek evasions to avoid the stress thereof: for certainly God will not be mocked. Could our Saviour have spoken in more plain and express terms than he did, when he said, "Swear not all?" And yet what cunning devices have been invented by those who boast of the name of Christians, to enervate the force of these express words. It is not a proper place here to refute their reasons; but yet I cannot think it unsuitable to shew briefly how dangerous it is to act against the express commandments of sacred writ, and against the conviction of one's conscience, thereby to avoid persecution: for not only the apostle James saith, "Whosoever shall offend in one point, he is guilty of all;" but our supreme lawgiver Christ himself saith, "Whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven. And, whosoever shall be ashamed of me, and of my words, of him also shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when he cometh in the

glory of his Father, with the holy angels." And to encourage us to faithfulness he hath also said, "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell." Which words indeed are so emphatical, that it ought not to displease any that I repeat them, as they have been left on record by the evangelist Luke, viz. thus, "I say unto you, my friends, be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do. But I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear: fear him, which after he hath killed, hath power to cast into hell; yea, I say unto you fear him." Can it be otherwise, but that such words must needs make a powerful impression on a real Christian? And the more when we consider, that nothing in the world can retrieve or restore a perishing soul, as may appear from these words of our blessed Lord, "What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? Or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" A clear proof that the whole world, and all that is contained therein, is not able to save one soul, or to afford any thing that can redeem it. If I here thought it requisite, a godly zeal at present would make me say more on this subject; but not to expatiate too far beyond the limits of this historical fact, I shall

not pursue this digression any farther, but return to my relation, from whence I thus stepped aside.

To take up again then the broken thread of my discourse, I once more come to Jeremy Ives, who, to avoid persecution, had taken the oath contrary to his understanding; and it was Thomas Rudyard, mentioned here before, who objected this to him: and he feeling himself pinched by it, endeavoured to break the stress thereof by saying, "That the reason why in a letter he had blamed a friend, was for his saying he had rather have given fifty pounds than have taken the oath of allegiance, and yet swore he took it freely and willingly." But who sees not what a poor shift this was?

Now to come to the dispute; I have already mentioned it was asserted, that the Quakers were no Christians; and to maintain this, Thomas Hicks said, "They that deny the Lord is Christ are no Christians: but the Quakers deny the Lord is Christ," &c. To this W. Penn said, I deny the minor, viz. that the Quakers deny that the Lord is Christ." And T. Hicks returned, "They that deny Christ to be a distinct person without them, deny the Lord is Christ: but the Quakers deny Christ to be a distinct person without them: therefore," &c. W. Penn then desired that T. Hicks would plain what he meant by the term person.

And T. Hicks answered, "I mean the man Christ Jesus." To which W. Penn replied, "Then I deny the minor, viz. that we deny the man Christ Jesus." To which Hicks returned, "I prove ye deny the man Christ Jesus. One of your own writers saith, that Christ was never seen with carnal eyes, nor heard with carnal ears," &c. To this J. Ives added : "He that denies that Christ was ever seen with carnal eyes, &c. denies the man Christ : but the Quakers deny that Christ was ever seen with carnal eyes," &c. George Keith then said, "I answer by distinguishing : Christ as God was never seen with carnal eyes." To this J. Ives returned ; "But he was Christ as he was man : how then was not Christ seen with carnal eyes ?" This question G. Keith answered thus : "We are to consider that the terms or names Jesus Christ, are sometimes applied to him as God, and sometimes to him as man ; yea, sometimes to the very body of Jesus ; but the question is, whether do those names more properly, immediately, and originally belong to him as God, or as he was before he took the manhood upon him ; or to the manhood ? We affirm, those names are given to him most properly, and eminently as God ; and less properly yet truly, as man ; and least properly to his body, yea to his dead body." Then J. Ives asked, "Where do you read that the carcase was called the Christ ?"

This irreverent expression so displeased many, that some cried out, "Where didst thou ever read that Christ's dead body was called a carcase?" From this disgust W. Penn said: "I beseech you for the Lord's sake, that we may treat of these things as becomes Christians."

G. Keith then resuming the discourse, answered J. Ives's question thus; "I prove that the dead body of Jesus was called Christ, from the words of Mary, "Where have ye laid him?" For she had just before called the body of her Lord; likewise the angel said to her, "See the place where the Lord lay:" and that he was Jesus Christ before he took flesh, I prove from the saying of the apostle, "Who created all things by Jesus Christ." Then T. Hicks said, "I will prove the Quakers to be no Christians:" and J. Ives added, "They that say that Christ cannot be seen with carnal eyes, and was never visible to wicked men, do deny the Lord is Christ; for he was seen with carnal eyes, and by wicked men." To this W. Penn said, "I distinguish upon the word seen; wicked men might see him in that bodily appearance, and yet not see him to be the Christ of God; they saw his manhood, but not his Christship: this I will prove from Christ's words to Peter, when he confessed him to be Christ, the son of the living God," viz. "Flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but my Father which

is in heaven:" therefore Peter with a carnal eye could not have seen the Lord's Christ, much less wicked men. My second proof is from the apostle's words, "Whom none of the princes of this world knew; for had they known him, they would not have crucified him." W. Penn enlarging a little more on this subject, said also, that seeing and knowing in Scripture are sometimes equivalent. And G. Keith added, Christ said, "He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father: but no wicked man hath seen the Father, therefore no wicked man hath seen Christ, as such." Ives and his companions scoffed at this distinction: but the Quakers averred, that all who saw Jesus as the carpenter's son, did not see him as the Christ of God. Then Ives asked, "Is the manhood a part of the Lord's Christ?" To which W. Penn returned, "Is this to prove the charge of our denying the Lord is Christ? It seems we must be here to be catechised, and ye will not answer us one question, yet I shall answer J. Ives his question, if he will promise to answer mine."

Ives then saying that he would answer it, W. Penn returned, "I here declare, that we do faithfully believe that holy manhood to be a member of the Christ of God:" and directing his question to Ives, he said, "Was he the Christ of God before he was manifest in the

way, broke up the meeting, without a final conclusion.

Persecution in this year was not very sharp in London, but for all that, active in other places, so that I do not want matter to make a relation of it ; but to shun prolixity, I will mention but one case.

One Robert Tilles, in Buckingham, sick of a consumption, and believing his death to be nigh at hand, desired some of his friends to visit him. At this invitation some came to his house, yet not above the number of fourteen persons ; and two informers went and acquainted a justice of the peace thereof, who recorded this small assembly as a seditious meeting, and fined the sick man twenty pounds for this pretended transgression ; and so his goods were seized, and six cows taken from him. And one Robert Smith, being overheard by the informers to have spoken five or six words, was fined also twenty pounds as a preacher ; which fine was afterwards extorted from some others then present.

The peace between England and Holland was concluded this year at the instance of Spain, but the war between Holland and France continued still.

I now pass over to the year 1675. About the beginning whereof G. Fox came to London, whilst the parliament was sitting, who advised the king to suppress the growth of popery ; but

in the meanwhile the Quakers bore the chiefest shock ; for their religious meetings were stiled seditious conventicles.

After G. Fox had been at the yearly meeting in London, he left the city, and went to Lancaster, and from thence to Swarthmore, where having a dwelling place of his own, he staid two years to rest himself; having contracted distempers by hardships and imprisonments which had much weakened his body. Being there, he understood that four young students at Aberdeen were convinced at a dispute held by Robert Barclay and George Keith, with some of the scholars of that university. And being visited by some of the neighbourhood, amongst others came Colonel Kirby, his old persecutor, who now carried himself very lovingly, and bad him welcome into the country. Yet notwithstanding this appearance of kindness, sometime afterwards he ordered the constables of Ulverstone to tell G. Fox, that they must have no more meetings at Swarthmore, for if they had, they were commanded by him to break them up; and they were to come the next Sunday after. But this threatening did not make G. Fox afraid; for he, with his friends had a meeting on that first day of the week, and none came to disturb them. During his abode at home, when he did not travel to and fro in the country, as he used to do, to edify his friends by his

declared on oath, in whose house the meeting had been, and who had preached; and this was so gross that once he gave a false information, with respect to the house; but the gain proceeding from this work, how abominable soever, did shine so alluringly, that his kinsman, James Clark, entered upon this informers' office; which any one could easily do, without suing for it.

In Norfolk the rage of the persecutors was such, that some, having been bereft of all, were obliged even in winter time (as amongst the rest Joseph Harrison, with his wife and children) to lie on straw; and yet they, unwearied, did not leave frequenting their religious meeting: nay, even the dead were not suffered to rest, for outrageous barbarity came to that pitch, that Mary, the wife of Francis Larder, being dead and buried, was, by order of one Thomas Bretland, dug up again, whereby the coffin was broken, which they tied together and carrying it away, exposed the corpse in the market-place. Thus this deceased woman was no more suffered to lie quiet in her grave, than in her sick bed, where the day before her death she has been threatened, by order of one Christopher Bedingfield, to have her bed taken from under her while living. Now the reason of this taking up the corpse, was, that though her husband was one of those called Quakers, yet she not being properly a member of that society, it was taken

ill that she had been buried in a plain way, without paying to the priest his pretended due, for the ordinary service over the dead.

In Somersetshire thirty two persons were fined for having been at a burial. The like happened in the county of Derby, where Samuel Roe (his wife being deceased) was fined twenty pounds, because his friends met in his house to conduct the corpse to the grave, of this the priest John Wilson, was informer to the justice of peace, John Loe; and out of the house of the said Samuel Roe, was taken the value of thirty pounds; so that the share of the informer was no less than ten pounds; since according to law his due was a third of the spoil. I could here relate several instances of great adversities, and sad mischiefs that befel cruel persecutors: but not to expatiate too far, I have silently passed by many remarkable cases.

Yet in general terms I may say, that many of the persecutors, both justices, informers, and others, came to a miserable end: some being by sudden, or unnatural death, and others by lingering sicknesses or distempers, or by foul and stinking diseases, taken out of this life; whilst some, who by spoil had scraped much together, fell into great poverty and beggary? whose names I could set down, and mention also time and place; and among these some rapacious ecclesiastics, who came to a sad end; but I stu-

diously avoid particularizing such instances, to avoid the appearance of grudging and envy. Some of those that had been so active in spoil, signified themselves the terrible remorse of conscience they felt because of their having persecuted the Quakers; insomuch that they roared out their gnawing grief, mixed with despair, under the grievous pains they suffered in their body. And it was judged by many a very remarkable case, that one Christopher Glin, priest at Burford, who had acted with very indiscreet zeal against the Quakers, having about the year 1663, read his text in the pulpit, and then intending to read his sermon, was on a sudden struck with blindness, and continued blind till he died. But none of the persecutors seemed to take notice, or to regard such instances; for they let their rage loose against the Quakers; who, for all that, continued in patience, though they did not think it unlawful to give notice of the grievous oppression their friends suffered, to those that were in authority: lest they might have excused themselves as ignorant of these proceedings. Therefore it was not omitted to publish in public print many of those crying instances that have been related here, and to present them to the king and parliament, with humble addresses to that purpose. But all this found but little entrance. King Charles, it seems was not to be the man that was to take

off the yoke of oppression ; this work was reserved for others. His brother James that succeeded him, made a beginning thereof, with what intention heaven knows ; and William III. that excellent prince, brought it to perfection as far as it was in his power.

This year deceased at sea William Bayly coming from the West Indies, in the ship called the Samuel, of London, In the latitude of 46 degrees and 36 minutes : he had been a teacher among the Baptists, and had read much in the books of Jacob Behmen, but could not find thereby true satisfaction to his soul. And being afterwards entered into society with the Quakers, so called, he became a zealous preacher among them. When in this his last voyage he was grown sick, and felt death approaching, he bid John Clark, master of the said vessel, remember him to his dear wife and little ones, and also to G. Fox, G. Whitehead, and others ; and being filled with joy, began to sing, saying, "The creating word of the Lord endures for ever." He took several that were about him by the hand, and exhorted them, to fear the Lord, and not to fear death ; "Death," said he, "is nothing in itself ; for the sting of death is sin. Tell the friends at London, that would have been glad to have seen my face, I go to my Father, and their Father, to my God, and their God. Remember my love to my dear

by zealously opposing what he judged to be heresy. Now how much soever this man was bent against them, yet he shewed this moderation, that in his gainsaying he did not behave himself furiously, but appeared to be well meaning, although he erred exceedingly, and often hindered the preaching of ministers among the Quakers; which induced W. Penn sometimes to pray to God very earnestly for him, and to tell him in the presence of many auditors, that God would plead with him by his righteous judgments; and that the time would come he should be forced to confess to the sufficiency of that light he then opposed, and to acknowledge that God was with those called Quakers.

This same Hide being by sickness brought to the brink of death, desired that G. Whitehead, and some of his friends, might be sent for: and to one Cotton Oade, who asked him, if he had any thing to say to clear himself, concerning his having so often opposed the friends called Quakers, in their declarations and prayers, he said, that he was sorry for what he had done; for, added he, they are the people of God. G. Whitehead then, though it was late in the evening, being come to him, with some others, said, "I am come in love and tenderness to see thee." To which Hide returned, "I am glad to see you;" and White-

head again, "If thou hast any thing on thy conscience to speak, I would have thee to clear thy conscience." To this Hide replied, "What I have to say, I speak in the presence of God : as Paul was a persecutor of the people of the Lord, so have I been a persecutor of you his people, as the world is who persecute the children of God." More he spoke, but being very weak, his words could not well be understood. Then G. Whitehead resumed, "Thy understanding being darkened, when darkness was over thee thou hast gainsaid the truth and people of the Lord ; and I knew that that light which thou opposedst, would rise up in judgment against thee. I have often with others, laboured with thee, to bring thee to a right understanding." To which Hide said, "This I declare in the presence of God, and of you here, I have done evil in persecuting you who are the children of God, and I am sorry for it : the Lord Jesus Christ shew mercy unto me, and the Lord increase your number, and be with you." After some pause, G. Whitehead said to him, "I would have thee, if thou art able to speak, to ease thy conscience as fully as thou canst. My soul is affected to hear thee thus confess thy evil, as the Lord hath given thee a sense of it. In repentance there is mercy and forgiveness ; in confessing and forsaking sin, there is mercy to be found

with the Lord, who in the midst of judgment remembers mercy, that he may be feared." Hide being in great anguish, and striving for breath, said, a little after, "I have done evil in opposing you in your prayers; the Lord be merciful unto me; and as I have been an instrument to turn many from God, the Lord raise many instruments to turn many to him." G. Whitehead resumed, "I desire thou mayest find mercy and forgiveness at the hand of the Lord. How is it with thy soul? Dost not thou find some ease?" "I hope I do," answered Hide, "and if the Lord should lengthen my days, I should be willing to bear a testimony for you, as publicly as I have appeared against you." His wife then said, "It is enough; what can be desired more?" "If," queried Whitehead, "the Lord should not lengthen out thy days, dost thou desire what thou sayest should be signified to others?" "Yes," answered Hide, "I do, you may; I have said as much as I can say." After some silence, he being much straightened for breath, Whitehead said, "If this company be wearisome to thee, we may withdraw." To which he returned, "you may use your freedom." G. Whitehead then taking leave of him, said, "I shall leave thee to the Lord, desiring he may shew mercy and forgiveness unto thee,

as I hope he will." Upon which Hide replied, "The Lord be with your spirits."

All this was spoken to G. Whitehead and his friends, in the presence of Hide's wife, and some others of his acquaintance, about two hours before his death: and thus he gave manifest proofs of a sincere repentance; for Elizabeth his wife, having perceived him to be much troubled in his mind, had asked him, if he would speak with some of the Quakers? And he smiting his hand on his breast, said, "With all my soul." After G. Whitehead and his friends were gone, it being the seventh day of the week, he desired several times, that he might live till morning, and might bear on that day, (viz, the first day of the week) a testimony for the truth, he had on that day so often opposed; yet he signified that he had found some ease to his spirit. He also exhorted his wife who conversed much with people that were great in the world, to use the plain language of the Quakers. And after some more words to this purpose, spoken by him, with good understanding, he stretched himself out, and died very quietly. An evident token of God's unspeakable mercy, who wills not the death of a sinner, but that he should repent and live; and who entirely knowing the real disposition of man's heart, forgives sin by mere grace, without any merit in man, but for his own sake, as

he hath said himself, "I am he that blotteth out thy transgressions for mine own sake, and will not remember thy sins." The truth of which saying very plainly appeared in the converted thief on the cross, though his impenitent fellow sufferer hardened his heart against it.

In this year, while G. Fox was at Swarthmore, died William Lampitt, the priest of Ulverstone, who formerly had been a great friend to Margaret now the wife G. Fox, but grew so envious against the friends she was in society with, that he said, in the year 1652, he would wage his life upon it, that the Quakers would all vanish, and come to nought within half a year. But on his death-bed he said to one of his hearers; who came to visit him, "I have been a preacher a long time, and thought I had lived well; but I did not think it had been so hard a thing to die."

At Norwich now great spoil was made upon the Quakers, for their religious assemblies. Erasmus Cooper coming once into the house of Anthony Alexander, said to his wife, who was big with child, he came to seize all she had. All, said she, and that for seven pounds fine, that is hard. But he slighting what she said, replied, he would not leave her a bed to lie on. And then began to break the doors with a pick-axe; he and his companions behaving themselves so desperately, that it drew tears

from some of the neighbours who beheld it; and the warranted spoilers forced Alexander's man to help them: which made Alexander say, that it was a most unreasonable thing, to require a servant to assist in the taking his master's goods: for which the warden, Robert Clerk snarled at him, saying, they are our goods. To the house of Samuel Duncon, the aforesaid officers came also, and with them the informer Charles Tennison, and the hangman. Here they staid several days and nights, and kept Samuel's wife, who was big with child, as a prisoner in her own house, not suffering her to speak with any, so much as at the door, nor any to come to her. And after they had broken up all the locked doors, they took away to the value of about forty-three pounds in goods; and so insolent the informers were, that one did not hesitate to say, "I will make the mayor wait upon me as often as I will, at my pleasure." Nay, this wicked crew was become so powerful that none durst oppose them, for fear of falling into disgrace with the court; since they were encouraged by such as were in high stations, and probably at the instance of Papists or popishly affected. The constable William Poole, coming this summer into the meeting at Norwich, with an informer, who made him come, and hearing efficacious preaching there, cried with tears in his eyes,

“What shall I do! I know the power of God is among you:” and told the informer, that if there were a curse hung over any people upon the earth, it was over the informers. And Tennison the informer, who had assisted in taking away Samuel Duncon’s goods, being afterwards committed to prison for debt, confessed he never prospered since he took in hand that work; and said, if he were at liberty, he would never meddle with it more.

In Nottinghamshire also great spoil and havoc was made, to which the justices, Robert Thoroton, was greatly instrumental; for at Sutton he gave forth a warrant to seize the goods of two persons, one of whom was a woman, who having at a meeting spoken five or six words, which, according to the testimony of some officers that were present, were not at all like preaching, was however informed against as a preacher, and so by the said Thoroton fined twenty pounds; and she being unable to pay, the one half of the fine was charged upon her, and the other half upon John Fulwood. At another time Thoroton gave order to seize the goods of William Day, a miller, because he having been at a meeting at Sutton, in the street, the fine of a pretended preacher, that was unable, was charged upon him; though Day proved, and the officers who kept the friends out of their meeting-place,

declared also, that those words, which were called preaching, were no more than an answer to what another had spoken. But for all that, Thoroton, to protect, and to gratify the informer, said, "Though but one word were spoken, it is sufficient." A poor woman at South Collingham, who was already bereaved of almost all that she possessed, and since by her friends provided with a bed and other necessities, was also deprived of this little, because she continued to frequent meetings. Matthew Hartly, a poor-man, who lived by spinning of wool, was likewise for frequenting the meeting there, bereaved of what he had; and so it was with many others whose names and surnames I could mention, if I had a mind to enlarge. And if their friends had not taken care of them, and other impoverished families who had lost all by spoil, many might have perished.

In the town of Hereford the meetings were also disturbed from time to time, chiefly by boys, who threw among those that were met, not only stones, and excrements, but burning squibs; and used all manner of insolency and mischief they could think of, against these harmless people, either by breaking the glass windows, or the forms and seats. One of the leaders of this turbulent company, was the son of one Abraham Seward, who about this

time was elected mayor, but when complaints were made to him of the outrageous actions of the said wicked crew, he pretended to be ignorant of his son's doings, and for all that, threatened those that came to him, with the execution of the law upon them, if they did not leave off to keep meetings. And as it was well known that the chief master of the town-school was displeased at the extravagant insolency of some of his scholars, so it was reported also, that he was forbidden to correct them for it; and that the college priests had set them on, and said they would bear them out in what they did: for some of those brutish boys were choristers. Two friends went to the justices, Robert Simons and Thomas Simons, to acquaint them with the excessive abuses they met with. But the justices not at all regarding their complaint; the said Robert endeavoured to draw some confession of a meeting from one of them, intending, as he himself said, immediately to have fined him, if he had confessed; but he was wary. Now since the insolency of the boys was thus encouraged by authority, it was no wonder it continued there a whole year. At length eight men were taken from the meeting, by the aforesaid mayor, Abraham Seward, and carried to the town-hall; and in their passage along, he said, they should never meet there more. To

which a friend, going with him, said, "We are a people gathered by the power of the Lord; and therefore the power of man cannot scatter us." Being come to the Town-hall the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were tendered to them, on which they said, "We are Christians, therefore cannot break the command of Christ, which forbids to swear at all; but to render just and lawful allegiance to the king, we do not deny, nor refuse." And they persisting in their refusal to swear, were committed to prison. The next day after, one Walter Rogers, a prebend, walking by the meeting-house, and observing how it was broken, said to some, that they were very good boys, and had done their work better than he thought they had.

At one of the quarter sessions in Nottingham, one John Sayton, appeared, who, being fined twenty pounds for suffering a conventicle in his house, in the parish of Blyth, came to appeal for justice. The witness produced against him, said, "I was there on that day, and there were several people met, but were all silent, and no words spoken amongst them; but I did not see John Sayton there." And that the said John Sayton was above sixty miles from home the same day, for which he was fined 20l. was made to appear in open court by substantial evidence. Then the counsel for the appellant said, in the first place, for as much as there was neither

preaching, praying nor reading, as their own witness doth testify, therefore it was no conventicle. Secondly, being they cannot prove he was there, therefore how can it be judged, that he did either wittingly or willingly consent to that meeting, if they could make it a conventicle? To this the informer's counsel objected, that although there was neither preaching, praying, nor reading, yet it was evident enough that they met under a pretence of religious exercise; and seeing there were more than five, and not of John Sayton's family, therefore it must needs be a conventicle. And as to the second, seeing they cannot prove he was there, we must leave it to the consciences of the jury, whether he did willingly consent to that meeting or no. After the council had spoken on both sides, Peniston Whaley, one of the Justices, who sat in the chair as judge of the court, stood up, and said to the jury, although there was no visible exercise that can be proved, yet the Quakers say, they worship God in spirit and in truth; and we know their manner is to sit sighing and groaning, &c. The jury returning, and being asked by the court, do you find it for the king, or for the appellant, answered, For the appellant. This so displeased the said justice Whaley, that he bid them go forth again. But one of the jurymen saying, they were agreed, and they had considered the thing very well; he

thereupon fell into such a rage, that he said, "You deserve all to be hanged; for you are as ill as highwaymen." Perhaps he himself was either an informer, or a special friend to such, and therefore was sorry that the jury deprived him of the booty, or a share of it.

There was now great persecution in all parts of England, neither did it go better in the principality of Wales. Nine persons being taken prisoners, and brought this summer to the assizes held for the county of Merioneth, in the town of Bala, upon an indictment for not resorting to their parish churches, the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were tendered to them, Kemick Eyton, and Thomas Walcot being judges; and upon their refusal to take these oaths, the said judges declared it as their opinion in open court, that in case the prisoners would refuse the oaths the second time, they should be prosecuted as traitors, the men to be hanged and quartered, and the women to be burnt. But this threat could not make them afraid; for at the next assizes the oaths being tendered them again, they continued in refusing, though they solemnly acknowledged allegiance to the king as supreme magistrate; and thereupon were remanded to close imprisonment, where Edward Rees, one of them, being above sixty years of age, and not able to bear the cold, died about

the height of the frost, not having been allowed the use of fire.

Some time before it happened within the corporation of Pool, in Montgomeryshire, that the justice, David Maurice, coming into a house where a small number of people were peaceably met and all silent, required them to depart. Hereupon Thomas Lloyd, one of the company, began to speak a few words, by way of defining true religion, and what true worship was ; and what he said was so reasonable, that the said justice approved of it, as sound, and according to the doctrine of the church of England ; yet notwithstanding, he fined the said Thomas Lloyd in 20l. for preaching.

This year died in prison John Sage, being about eighty years of age, after having been in prison at Iwelchester in Somersetshire almost ten years, for not paying tithes. And it appeared, that since the restoration of king Charles, above two hundred of the people called Quakers, died in prisons in England, where they had been confined because of their religion. I could relate abundance of occurrences this year, if I had a mind to extend my work, but I study brevity ; yet cannot omit to mention, that in this year, in the island of Barbadoes, in the West Indies, a law was made to prevent negroes coming into the meetings of the Quakers, which was of this tenor :

“Whereas of late, many negroes, have been suffered to remain at the meetings of the Quakers, as hearers of their doctrine, and taught in their principles, whereby the safety of the island may be much hazarded; be it enacted, that if at any time after publication hereof, any negro, or negroes, be found with the people called Quakers, at any of their meetings, as hearers of their preaching, he or they shall be forfeited, one half to such as shall seize, or sue for him or them, if belonging to any of the Quakers; and the other moiety to the public use of the island; provided that if he or they be seized, such as seize, shall bring their actions upon this statute, within three months, against the owner of the negro, or negroes: wherein the defendant having ten days summons, shall appear, plead, and come to trial at the first court after summons, or judgment to be given by *nihil dicit*, and execution immediately to issue. And if such negro, or negroes, do not belong to any of the persons present at the same meeting, any person or persons, may bring an action upon this statute, against any of the persons present at the said meeting, at the election of the informer, and so recover ten pounds for every negro, or negroes, present at the said meeting as aforesaid, to be divided as aforesaid, and in such actions, proceedings to be as aforesaid. And no person whatsoever, shall keep any school, to instruct

any child in any learning, unless within one month after the publication hereof, he first take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, before some justice of peace of the parish where the party lives, and have a certificate thereof, or have a special licence from the governor, on pain of three months imprisonment, and forfeiture of 3000 lb. of Moscovade sugar, the one moiety to the informer, and the other to the public use of the island, to be recovered as aforesaid. And no person whatsoever, who is not an inhabitant and resident of this island, and hath been so for twelve months together, shall hereafter publicly discourse, or preach at a meeting of the Quakers, on pain of six months imprisonment, and forfeiture of 1000 lb. Moscovade sugar, the one moiety to such as sue for it, the other to the public use of the island, to be recovered as aforesaid: provided that all actions upon this statute, be brought within six months after the offence."

Read, and passed the council the 21st of April, 1676, and consented to by his excellency [the governor] the same day.
Edwyn Steed, deputy secretary.

Although in the beginning of this statute, the instructing of the negroes in the doctrine of the Quakers, is represented as a thing whereby the

safety of the island might be much hazarded, yet the sequel shews that this was not the matter, but that it was endeavoured to deprive the Quakers of their due liberty. What was the issue hereof I am unacquainted with.

This year Robert Barclay wrote a letter to the heer Adrian Paets, with whom he had some discourse when, the said heer returned from Spain, where he had been ambassador for the states of the United Provinces. This Paets having a strange opinion of the doctrine of the Quakers, had a good while ago written a letter * to Christian Hartzoeker, in Rotterdam, about their doctrine; and having afterward discoursed with Barclay concerning the inward and immediate revelation, of the Spirit of God, this induced Barclay to write a letter on the said subject in Latin, to the aforementioned heer, where he made a longer reply to his arguments, than he had done by the word of mouth. This letter being sent over from Scotland, to Holland, was delivered by Benjamin Furly at Rotterdam, to the said heer Paets, with a desire that he might be pleased to return an answer to it, which he promised he would. But he continuing deficient in the case, Furly at last published the said letter in print, but without mentioning

* To be found in the book called *Præstantium ac cruditorum virorum Epistolæ Ecclesiasticæ et Theologicæ*. Amstelodami apud Franciscum Halmam. 1704.

the name of him to whom it was written, only his character, viz. *Cuidam legato*.*

In this letter was set down first the objection of the heer Paets, to wit, that since the being and substance of the Christian religion consisteth in the knowledge of, and faith concerning, the birth, life, death, resurrection and ascension of Christ Jesus, he considered the substance of the Christian religion as a contingent truth; which contingent truth was matter of fact. And matter of fact could not be known but by the relation of another, or by the perception of the outward senses; because there are naturally in our souls no ideas of contingent truths, such as are concerning necessary truths, viz. That God is, and that the whole is greater than the part. And since it might without absurdity be said, that God cannot make a contingent truth to become a necessary truth; neither can God reveal contingent truth or matters of fact, but as contingent truths are revealed; and matters of fact not being revealed but by the outward senses, the conclusion drawn from thence is, that men are not obliged to believe God producing any revelation in the soul concerning matter of fact, whether of a thing done or to be done, unless there be added some miracles obvious to the outward senses, by which the soul

* To a certain ambassador.

may be ascertained that that revelation cometh from God. All these arguments Barclay answered very circumstantially, premising first, that it was falsely supposed that the essence of the Christian religion consisted in the historical faith and knowledge of the birth, death, life, resurrection and ascension of Christ. That faith and historical knowledge is indeed a part of the Christian religion, but not an essential part, as that without which the Christian religion cannot consist; but an integral part, which goes to the completing of the Christian religion, as the hands or feet of a man are integral parts of a man, without which nevertheless a man may exist, but not an entire and complete man. Yet he agrees, that the historical knowledge of Christ is commonly manifested to us by the Holy Scripture as the means; but nevertheless he asserts, that God could without such an outward mean manifest the said historical knowledge to our minds: and also, that a contingent truth may be known by a supernatural knowledge. And he saith, that when God doth make known unto men any matter of fact by divine immediate revelation, he then speaks as to the ear of the heart of the inward man. And, that as when any natural idea is excited in us, we clearly know it; so also when a supernatural idea is raised, we clearly know that whereof it is the inward supernatural sense in man; and

then he distinguisheth between contingent and necessary truths, and shews how a divine revelation may be known to be such, saying that natural and spiritual senses are distinguishable by their objects, and demonstrating how godly men may know they are in the favour of God, and how the wicked feel the wrath of God as fire. He also relates, after what manner the spiritual senses distinguish the good and the evil; and he confesseth there is in all men, as well the godly as the ungodly some sort of idea of God, as of a most perfect Being: but he asserts, that the supernatural idea of God differeth much from the natural; and that in all men there is a supernatural idea of God. He also shews, wherein the motions of the mind differ from those of the body; and that there are ideas as well of supernatural, as of natural things. And shewing from whence the errors of false likenesses of reason proceed, he says, that the natural reason cannot perceive supernatural things. He also asserts, that the revelations to the prophets, were by inward inspirations in their minds: and that they were most certainly persuaded that they were divinely inspired, even without any outward miracle: and that it is by the inspiration of the same divine spirit, by which the prophets prophesied, that we do believe their words and writings to be divine, concerning contingent truths, as well past as

to come. Moreover he enquires, whether faith comes by outward hearing, and he shews how the outward senses may be deceived; nay, that often they are vitiated both by outward casualties and natural infirmities, whereunto the godly are no less subject than the wicked.

All this is treated at large by Barclay, as may be seen in the said letter, and several years after, when the heer Paets was in London, being one of the commissioners for the Dutch East-India company, Barclay spoke with him again, and so represented the matter, that he readily yielded, that he had been mistaken in his notion of the Quakers; for he found they could make reasonable plea for the foundation of their religion. And thereupon R. Barclay translated the said letter into English as follows:

“ My friend,

“ Albeit I judge I did fully answer to all thy arguments in that conference we had, concerning the necessity and possibility of inward immediate revelation, and of the certainty of true faith from thence proceeding: nevertheless, because after we had made an end, and were parting, thou wouldest needs remit to my further consideration the strength of thy argument, as that in which thou supposedst the very hinge of the question to lie: that it might satisfy thy desire, and that the truth might more

appear, I did further consider of it : but the more I weighed it, I found it the weaker. And therefore that thou thyself mayest make the truer judgment of it, I thought meet to send thee my further considerations thereon; (which I had done e'er now, had not I; both in London and elsewhere, been diverted by other necessary occasions) wherein, I doubt not, but thou wilt perceive a full and distinct answer to thy argument. But if thou canst not as yet yield to the truth, or thinkest mine answer in any part to be defective, so that there yet remains with thee any matter of doubt or scruple ; I do earnestly desire thee, that as I for thy sake, and out of love to the truth, have not been wanting to examine thy argument, and to transmit, to thee my, considerations thereon; so thou mayest give thyself the trouble to write and send me what thou hast further to say : which my friend N. N. who delivers thee this, will, at what time thou shalt appoint, receive from thee, and transmit to me thy letter ; that at last the truth may appear where it is.

“ And that the whole matter may the more clearly, be understood, it will be fit in the first place, to propose thy argument, whereby thou opposest the immediate revelation of God in the saints; thence concluding, thou hast fully overturned the foundation of the people called Quakers. Which argument of thine is ;

“That since (as thou judgest) the being and substance of the Christian religion consisteth in the knowledge of, and faith concerning the birth, life, death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ Jesus, thou considerest the substance of the Christian religion as a contingent truth; which contingent truth is matter of fact. Whence thou reasonest, that——

Matter of fact cannot be known, but by the relation of another, or by the perception of the outward senses; because there are naturally in our souls no ideas of contingent truths, such as are concerning necessary truths; to wit, that God is; and that the whole is greater than the part.—And since it may without absurdity be said, that

God cannot make a contingent truth to become a necessary truth; neither can God reveal contingent truths, or matters of fact, but as contingent truths are revealed: but matters of fact are not revealed, but by the outward senses.—From whence thou concludest that

Men are not even obliged to believe God producing any revelation in the soul concerning matter of fact, whether of a thing done, or to be done, unless there be added some miracles obvious to the outward senses, by

which the soul may ascertain, that that revelation cometh from God.

“ And this thou endeavourest also to prove from the Scripture, Rom. x. where the apostle saith, “ Faith cometh by hearing” and because the apostle speaketh afterwards of those who were sent in the plural number ; thence thou concludest that to be spoken of outward preaching by the ministry of men : and since the apostle uses a question, saying, “ How shall they believe unless they hear,” thou gatherest from the induction and connexion of the text, that the apostle speaks only of outward hearing ; thence concluding, that without outward hearing, faith cannot be produced ; and therefore that there can be no immediate revelation by the simple operation of the Spirit in the mind, unless there be something proposed in the outward senses.

“ Before I proceed to a direct answer to this argument, some things are necessary to be premised :

“ First then ; That it is falsely supposed, that the essence of the Christian religion consists in the historical faith and knowledge of the birth, death, life, resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ. That faith and historical knowledge is indeed a part of the Christian re-

ligion; but not such an essential part, as that without which the Christian religion cannot consist; but an integral part, which goes to the completing the Christian religion: as the hands or feet of a man are integral parts of a man, without which nevertheless a man may exist, but not an entire and complete man.

“Secondly, If by immediate revelation be understood such a revelation of God, as begets in our souls an historical faith and knowledge of the birth of Christ in the flesh, without the means of the holy Scripture, we do not contend for such a revelation, as commonly given, or expected by us, or any other Christians. For albeit many other evangelical truths be manifested to us by the immediate manifestation of God, not using the Scripture as the means; yet the historical knowledge of Christ is not commonly manifested to us, nor to any others, but by the Holy Scripture, as the means, and that by way of a material object; even as when we see the person of Peter or Paul to our visive faculty immediately, yet not without the medium of that person concurring as a material object to produce that sight; while the light of the sun concurs, as the formal object of that vision or sight. So that when we livingly and spiritually know the history of the birth of Christ in the flesh; the inward revelation or illumination of God, which is like the sun’s light, proceeding

from the divine sun, doth shine into the eye of the mind, and by its influence moves the mind to assent unto the historical truth of Christ's birth, life, &c. in the reading or hearing of the Scripture, or meditating therein.

“Thirdly, Nevertheless we do firmly assert, that God can most easily, clearly, and certainly manifest to our minds the historical truths of Christ's birth, &c. when it so pleaseth him, even without the Scripture, or any other outward means. And because this argument seems to be formed against the possibility of such a revelation, therefore I shall proceed to discuss it; but first thou mayst mind, that the prophets who foretold Christ's coming in the flesh, and being to be born of a virgin, and afterwards to suffer death, did know these truths of fact by the inward inspiration of God without outward means, for which see 1 Pet. i. 10, 11. Now that which hath been may be.

“Fourthly, This argument doth at most conclude, that we cannot naturally know any truth of fact, but by the relation of another without us, or by the perception of the outward senses; because there are naturally in our minds no ideas concerning contingent truths (and every truth of fact is a contingent truth) as there are of necessary truths. This then proveth, that we cannot naturally know any contingent truth, but by the relation of another, or perception of

the outward senses ; but that hindereth not, but we may know a contingent truth by a supernatural knowledge, God supplying the place of an outward relator ; who is so true, that he may and ought to be believed, since God is the fountain of truth.

“Fifthly, When God doth make known unto men any matter of fact by divine, immediate revelation or inspiration, God speaking to the ear of the heart of the inward man, or as by his finger writing it therein, two things are to be considered in such an immediate revelation.

“*To Materiale*, The matter of fact, or thing revealed, which is contingent.

“*To Formale*, The form or mode, how the revelation is made ; which form is an inward, divine, and supernatural revelation which is the voice or speech of God, inwardly speaking to the ear of the inward man, or a divine writing supernaturally imprinted therein. Now as to the material part, or the thing and matter revealed, this is indeed a contingent truth, and of itself is not manifest to the mind ; but because of the form, that is, because of the divine mode, and supernatural inward operation, the matter is known to be true. For that divine and supernatural inward operation, which the mind doth feel and perceive in itself, is the voice of God speaking unto man, which by its nature and specific property is as clearly distinguished and un-

derstood to be the voice of God, as the voice of Peter or James is known to be the voice of such men. For every being as a being is knowable, and that by its own specific nature, or property proceeding from its nature; and hath its proper idea, by which it is distinguishable from every other thing, if so be its idea be stirred up in us, and clearly proposed to us.

“Sixthly: Now as some beings are natural, some supernatural, so some ideas are natural, some supernatural: and as when any natural idea is excited in us, we clearly know it; so also when a supernatural idea is raised, we clearly know that whereof it is the idea. But the voice of God speaking to the mind of man is a supernatural being, and stirreth up in us a supernatural idea, by which we clearly know that inward voice to be the voice of God, and not the voice or operation of another, or of any evil spirit, or angel, because none of these have a supernatural idea, as the voice of God, and his divine operation hath; for it is full of vigour, virtue, and divine glory, as saith the Psalmist, who had often experience of it; and we also in our measures are witnesses thereof, for the voice of God is known to be his by its divine virtue.

“Seventhly: The senses are either outward or inward; and the inward senses are either natural or supernatural: we have an example of the inward natural sense in being angered or

pacified, in love and hatred; or when we perceive and discern any natural truth, (such as the natural maxims, to wit, that the whole is greater than a part, &c.) or when we deduce any conclusion by the strength of natural reason, that perception also in a larger sense, may be called an inward sense. But an example of an inward supernatural sense is, when the heart or soul of a pious man feels in itself divine motions, influences, and operations, which sometimes are as the voice or speech of God, sometimes as a most pleasant and glorious illustration or visible object to the inward eye, sometimes as a most sweet savour or taste, sometimes as an heavenly and divine warmth, or (so to speak) melting of the soul in the love of God. Moreover this divine and supernatural operation in the mind of man, is a true and most glorious miracle; which when it is perceived by the inward and supernatural sense divinely raised up in the mind of man, doth so evidently and clearly persuade the understanding to assent to the thing revealed, that there is no need of an outward miracle: for this assent is not because of the thing itself, but because of the revelation proposing it, which is the voice of God. For when the voice of God is heard in the soul, the soul doth as certainly conclude the truth of that voice, as the truth of God's being, from whom it proceeds.

“These things being thus premised, I now proceed to a direct answer. For what is said, That God cannot make a contingent truth to become a necessary truth, I agree; but when any contingent truth is manifest to us by the immediate revelation of God, there are two things to be considered, to wit, the thing revealed, which is contingent; and the revelation itself; which upon the supposition, that it is a divine revelation, is no contingent truth, but a most necessary truth. And this all mankind will say, that this proposition, every divine revelation is necessarily true, is as clear and evident, as that proposition, that every whole is greater than its part.

“But thou wilt say; How knowest-thou that a divine revelation is a divine revelation? I answer, How knowest thou, that a whole is a whole, and a part is a part? Thou wilt say, by the natural idea excited in me of a whole, and not of a part. I answer again; even so a divine revelation is known to be such by a supernatural idea of divine revelation stirred up in us, and that by a divine motion, or supernatural operation. But it is no wonder that men, who have no experience of supernatural ideas, or at least do not heed them, do deny them; which is, as if a man naturally blind denied light or colours; or a deaf man sounds, because they experience them not. Therefore we cannot

dissemble, that we feel a fervent zeal even divinely kindled in us against such an absurd opinion, as affirms, that God cannot ascertain us of his will in any contingent truth, but by proposing it to the outward senses. This opinion does in a manner turn men into brutes, as if man were not to believe his God, unless he purpose what is to be believed to the outward senses, which the beasts have in common with us ; yea, it derogates from God's power, and imputes weakness to him, as if he could not do that, which not only both good and evil angels can do, but which the meanest creatures, can do, and the most insensible. As for instance : the heat of the fire, the coldness of the air and water worketh upon us ; yea, if a pin pricks us, we feel it, and that by the outward sense ; because the objects are outward and carnal : but since God is a most pure and glorious Spirit, when he operateth in the innermost parts of our minds of his will ; shall not he and his will be clearly felt according to his nature, that is, by a spiritual and supernatural sense ? For as the nature of God is, so is the nature of his will, to wit purely spiritual, and therefore requireth a spiritual sense to discern it ; which spiritual sense, when it is raised up in us by a divine operation, doth as clearly and certainly know the voice or revelation of the will of God, concerning any thing which God is pleased to

reveal, however contingent, as the outward sense knows and perceives the outward object. And it is no less absurd, to require of God, who is a most pure Spirit, to manifest his will to men by the outward senses, else not to be credited ; as to require us to see sounds, and hear lights and colours. For as the objects of the outward senses are not to be confounded, but every object is to have its proper sense ; so must we judge of inward and spiritual objects, which have their proper sense, whereby they are to be perceived. And tell me, how God doth manifest his will concerning matters of fact, when he sends his angels to men, since angels (as is commonly received) have not outward senses, or at least not so gross ones, as ours are ? Yea, when men die, and appear before the tribunal of God, whether unto eternal life or death, how can they know this, having laid down their bodies, and therewith their outward senses. And nevertheless this truth of God is a truth of fact, as is the historical truth of Christ's birth in the flesh. And which is yet more near : how do good and holy men even in this life most certainly know, that they are in the favour and grace of God ! no outward revelation doth make this known unto them ; but the Spirit (as saith the apostle) beareth witness with our spirits, that we are the children of God. For the mere testimony of a human

conscience, without inward testimony of the Holy Spirit, cannot beget in us a firm and immoveable testimony of our sonship, because the heart of man is deceitful: and if the testimony thereof were true, at most it is but a human testimony, which begetteth in us only a human faith: but that faith, by which holy men believe they are the sons of God, is a divine faith, which leans upon a divine testimony of the Holy Spirit, witnessing in them, that they are the sons of God. Moreover, when a good man feels in himself that undeclarable joy of the holy Spirit, concerning which the holy Scripture speaks, and which is the common privilege of the saints, how or whence feels he this joy? Truly, this argument concludes no less against this heavenly spiritual joy, which is begotten in the souls of the saints by the Holy Spirit, than it does against the immediate revelation of God: for there is no natural idea of this spiritual joy, else mere natural men, yea such as are profane and ungodly, would feel it as much as the godly: but because it is a supernatural thing, therefore it can have no true idea but what is supernatural. Moreover whence is it that profane men feel sometimes in themselves the wrath of God as fire, when all things, as to the outward, go as prosperously with them as with the godly, and oftentimes more prosperously? For there is no natural

idea in men of this inward wrath of God. There is also an inward grief oftentimes raised up in wicked men from the sense of this wrath of God, which very much vexeth and tormenteth their minds ; and nevertheless this grief hath no natural idea in us : for oftentimes wicked men feel not this sorrow ; for God sometimes is, as it were, silent, while the wicked sin, as in Psal. l.

“ All which things do most clearly demonstrate, that there are in men supernatural ideas of supernatural beings ; which ideas are nevertheless not perceived by us, unless they be stirred up by some supernatural operation of God, which raiseth up in us supernatural and spiritual senses, which by their nature are as distinguishable from the natural senses, whether inward or outward, as the natural senses are distinguished one from another by their specific difference. Of which spiritual senses the Scripture speaks frequently, as Heb. v. and xiv. where is spoken of the spiritual senses in general, by which the spiritual man hath the discerning of good and evil : which good is of a spiritual nature, and conduceth to feed in us a spiritual and divine life ; and the evil is of that kind, by which the spiritual life is in us hurt, to wit, sins, whether carnal or spiritual : all which cannot be discerned but by such who have spiritual senses stirred up in them, as

saith the apostle. In other places the Scripture also speaketh of these spiritual senses in particular; as of the spiritual seeing, Psal. xxxiv. 9. Of the spiritual hearing, Psal. lxxxv. 9. Of spiritual tasting, Psal. xxxiv. 8. Of spiritual smelling, Cant. i 3. Of spiritual touching, Acts xvii. 8. and in many other places of Scripture we read of those spiritual senses in particular. Yea, it is the promise of the gospel, that the glory of God shall be seen of holy men, such as are clean of heart, even in this life: Isa. xxxiii. 17. Mat. v. 8. Which were fulfilled in the primitive Christians, see John i 14. 1 John i. 1, 2, 3, 4. 2 Cor. iii, 18. and chap. iv. 6. But what is this vision of God and divine glory, which the souls of the saints enjoy in this life, which is only as the earnest or first fruits of that more abundant glorious vision in the life to come, concerning which the Scripture so much declareth, which is the highest happiness of the immortal soul.

“For this argument seemeth to do no less injury to the saints, than to rob them of this glorious treasure both in this life, and that to come. For there is in us no natural idea of this divine glory, as there is not of God himself, which is any ways proportionable unto so great happiness, which the Scripture so much declareth of, by which the godly are rewarded partly in this life, and plenarily in that which is

to come. We confess indeed, there is in all men as well the godly as the ungodly, some sort of idea of God, as of a most perfect being; and that therefore this proposition, there existeth a most perfect being, doth as clearly appear to human understanding, as that the whole is greater than the part: and therefore this proposition, that a most perfect being existeth, ought to be numbered among the principles, that of themselves are manifest. But this idea of God is as manifest to ungodly, as to godly men; yea, it is clearly perceived by the devil, as by the most holy angels: for all the devils know, that God is; but yet how blind is the devil, and all wicked men, as to the vision of God, which is the chief reward of the saints.

“There is then either no such vision of God neither in this life, nor in that to come; or there is a supernatural idea of God in us, by which we are made capable of this vision; which supernatural idea of God differeth much from that natural idea of God, which Cartesius and his followers so much talk of, (albeit others long before Cartesius, did observe this natural idea of God, and spoke of it.) But the happiness of the saints consists not in contemplating this natural idea of God, else the wicked would be as happy as the godly; yea, the very devil as the most holy angel: since, as is said, both he devil and most wicked men do as clearly

perceive this natural idea of God as the most holy men or angels.

“If the Scripture then be true, there is in men a supernatural idea of God, which altogether differs, from this natural idea: I say, in all men; because all men are capable of salvation, and consequently of enjoying this divine vision. Now this capacity consisteth herein, that they have such a supernatural idea in themselves: for if there were no such idea in them, it were impossible they should so know God. For whatsoever is clearly and distinctly known, is known by its proper idea; neither can it otherways be cleared and distinctly known: for the ideas of all things are divinely planted in our souls; for they are not begotten in us by outward objects, or outward causes, (as the better philosophy teacheth) but only are by these outward things excited or stirred up. And this is true not only in supernatural ideas of God, and things divine, and in natural ideas of the natural principles of human understanding, and conclusions thence deduced by the strength of human reason; but even in the ideas of outward objects, which are perceived by the outward senses; as that noble Christian philosopher Boetius hath well observed; to which also the Cartesian philosophy agreeth. For when I see any outward object, whether it be a man, or horse, or bird, the outward object does not

treat in my eye, nor yet in my mind the idea of those things ; for the outward object does nothing but imprint in our sensible organs a corporeal motion. Now there is nothing in a corporeal motion that can form in us the ideas of those things ; for all ideas are of a spiritual nature ; now nothing that is corporeal can produce that which is spiritual, because the less excellent cannot produce the more excellent, else the effect would exceed its cause ; which is against all sound reason, that it should bring forth what were of a higher and more excellent kind. Therefore all ideas, whether of natural or spiritual things, are divinely implanted in our minds ; which nevertheless do not always appear, but sometimes appear, and sometimes are as it were hid in us, and sometimes are stirred up in us by causes outward or inward, and again do as it were sleep and shun our observation, and seem not to be otherways distinguished by our minds, but as thoughts and perceptions of the mind, from the mind itself ; that is, as the mode from the subject, or as a bodily motion from the body, whereof it is the motion, for as is the relation of a bodily motion to a body, so is the relation of a thought or perception of the mind to the mind. In this nevertheless they differ, that the mind can move itself, and operate in itself ; which a body cannot do : but as a body, can be moved

by another, so also can the mind after its manner be moved by another, and that both by outward and inward causes, but chiefly by God himself, in whose hands all souls and creatures are. But of these things there is enough said at present; and I hope, I have not thus far impertinently philosophised.

“As there are then natural ideas concerning the things of the natural world; as for instance, ideas of light and colours, ideas of voice and sounds, ideas of savouring and smelling, ideas of tasting and feeling, as of heat and cold, of grief and joy; it follows also, that there are ideas of supernatural things, concerning the divine and supernatural things of the divine and supernatural world; as ideas of those things above mentioned in the spiritual world. And as the natural ideas are stirred up in us by outward and natural bodies, so those divine and supernatural ideas are stirred up in us by a certain principle, which is a body in naturals, in relation of the spiritual world, and therefore may be called a divine body; not as if it were a part of God, who is a most pure spirit; but the organ, or instrument of God, by which he worketh in us, and stirreth up in us these ideas of divine things. This is that flesh and blood of Christ, by which the saints are nourished; which is a mystery to all unregenerated and

mere natural men, never to be reached by them, while they remain in that state.

“Now if there be such supernatural ideas, there are also senses, or perceptive faculties by which those ideas are perceived; for those are two relatives that suppose and infer one another: but in wicked men those senses or faculties do as it were sleep (as the visive faculty of a blind man;) but in the godly they are stirred up. Now by these divine and spiritual senses, which are distinct and distinguishable from all the natural faculties of the soul, whether of imagination, or natural reason, spiritual minded men do behold the glory and beauty of God, in respect whereof, and for which, all the glory of this world is despicable to them; yea, even as dross and dung. And they also hear God inwardly speaking in their souls, words truly divine and heavenly, full of virtue and divine life: and they savour and taste of divine things, and do, as it were, handle them with the hands of their souls. And those heavenly enjoyments do as really differ in their nature from all false similitudes, and fictitious appearances of them, which either the mind of man by its own strength can imitate, or any evil spirit to deceive man counterfeit; as a true man differs from the dead image of a man, or true bread, honey, wine, or milk, doth from the mere picture of those things. And albeit either the imagination of

man, or subtlety of the devil, may counterfeit false likenesses of these enjoyments, by which men may be deceived; and no doubt many are deceived; that doth not hinder, but that those divine enjoyments are clearly perceived in such, in whom the divine and spiritual senses are truly opened, and the true supernatural ideas of those things truly raised up.

“ And if there be at any time a mistake, the divine illumination is not the cause of that mistake, but some evil disposition of the mind; as happeneth in those things relating to natural reason. For there are many false appearances of reason, which differ as much from true reason, as those false and pretended revelations, and diabolical inspirations from such as are truly divine. Now, how many men who would be esteemed philosophers, are miserably deceived by those false likenesses of reason, judging their false reasons to be the true similitudes of things, and solid ratiocinations; which nevertheless moveth no man of sound reason, to reject sound and solid reason, as doubtful and uncertain. For even sound natural reason, is an excellent gift of God, and very useful to mankind, when used in its proper place: but let none think to comprehend by their natural reason, things that are of a divine and supernatural kind. And as we use to do, when any one is

deceived by false appearances of reason, we endeavour to reduce them to contemplate the first natural ideas of natural things, and to meditate therein, which is as a test or touch-stone, by which all the appearances and likenesses of reason are to be examined; if they contradict them, to be rejected; so also when any one is deceived by his own imagination, or the cunning of Satan, thinking any evil inspiration of the devil to be a true divine revelation, he that is so deceived, is to be reduced to the natural ideas of things (if so be that pretended revelation doth contradict them, for no true divine revelation can contradict the true natural ideas) or to the supernatural ideas of divine things, which are most simple, clear, and obvious to the minds of men, if they will turn their minds to the divine seed in them; or at least those ideas are readily and easily stirred up. For as in natural ideas, so in supernatural, some are more easily raised than others; for there is a certain order both of natural and supernatural ideas, whereby they are gradually excited: nor is there any mortal man, in whose mind at some time or other there is not stirred up some idea that is truly supernatural and divine, and who hath not felt in himself both the wrath and judgment of God for his sins? And also some tender and gentle taste of God's love and goodness, by which wicked men are

invited to repentance. Now that which is thought to be a divine revelation, and is felt to contradict any divine and supernatural idea, which is clearly perceived in the soul, it is a manifest token that it is not a divine revelation, but either a false imagination, or the wicked suggestion of some evil spirit.

“ But to proceed : if we will hear the Scriptures (as all Christians ought) it testifies to us, that God hath declared his mind and will even concerning contingent truths to come in the prophets ; as that of the first to the Hebrews doth evidently declare. “ God, who at sundry times, and in divers manners spoke to our fathers in the prophets,” Yea, let us hear the prophets themselves, Hosea, chap. i. saith plainly, “ That the word of the Lord was made in him” (as it is in the Heb.) Habakkuk also says, As he was standing on his watch, to see what Jehovah would speak in him. And it is so manifest, that the most heavenly revelations are by inward illustrations and inspirations in the very minds of the prophets ; that it is strange how any that believe the Scripture, should doubt it. And if it happened at any time, such revelations were made in the natural imaginations of the prophets, or any of their inward natural senses, then it may be confessed, they could not be infallibly certain they came from God ; unless they also felt God in the

divine and supernatural senses, by which they did most nearly approach to him, from these superior and most inward senses, working upon the lower and less noble faculties of the mind. But which ever way the prophets were certain, that they were inspired of God, even when they foretold contingent truths to come, it is without doubt, they were most certainly persuaded, that they were divinely inspired, and that frequently without any outward miracle. For John the Baptist did no miracle ; and many prophesied, where there appeared no miracle : as in the Scripture may be often observed. And we also by the inspiration of the same divine Spirit, by which the prophets prophesied, do believe their words and writings to be divine concerning contingent truths, as well past as to come ; else that faith, by which we believe the Scripture, would not be divine, but merely human. And thence we need no outward miracles to move us to believe the Scriptures ; and therefore much less were they necessary to the prophets who wrote them. For we see in many places of the prophets, where they declare prophesies as revealed to them of God, there is not a word mentioned of any outward miracle, as that by which alone they were certain of it.

“ Moreover, the falseness of this argument doth appear, in that the Scripture doth declare many contingent truths to have been revealed

to the prophets in dreams. Now as natural and wicked men do not see what they dream by a real perception of the outward senses, but by inward ideas which are presented to the mind and perceived by it: so it is also in divine revelations of this nature. Of which we have a clear example in Joseph, the husband of the Blessed Virgin, who, when he observed his wife with child, was told in a dream, that she had conceived by the Holy Ghost: now I would know, to which of Joseph's outward senses was this revealed? Or what miracle had he to induce him to believe? Which could neither be proved, (so as to make an infallible application to Mary) by the testimony of the Scripture; and which being against the order of nature, did choke his reason. The Scripture mentions no miracle in this matter; and yet no doubt Joseph had highly sinned, had he not believed this revelation, and, notwithstanding, rejected his wife as an adulteress. But if thou sayest, that according to thy hypothesis there must have been a miracle; that is only to beg the question: and how false this hypothesis is, the apostle shews clearly, 1 Cor. ii. 14. The natural or animal man knoweth not, receiveth not, the things of God. Now divine revelations are of this nature; if either chiefly or only those things were to be judged by the outward senses it would contradict the apostle. For natura

outward senses, thou condemnedst it as most absurd ; but why I cannot conceive, since there is no great difference betwixt those two opinions : the one saith, There can be no great certainty concerning any truths, whether they be necessary, or contingent, but by the perception of the senses : the other affirms the same of contingent truths, though not of necessary truths. But among the number of contingent truths thou esteemest what belongs to Christian religion ; for thou reckons the necessary truths only to belong to natural religion. This then is all the difference, that that other person says, there is no certainty of any religion, neither natural nor Christian, but by the perception of the outward senses : but thou sayest though thou esteemest the certainty of natural religion to be without them, yet not of the Christian religion. But again, since thou esteemest, that not natural religion, but the Christian religion is necessary to salvation, thou must necessarily conclude, that those truths which are necessary to salvation, are only known and believed by the benefit of the outward senses : in which conclusion (which is the sum of all) thou yieldest the matter to that other person.

“ But lastly : if all the certainty of our faith, hope, and salvation, did depend upon the infallibility of outward senses, we should be most miserable ; since these senses can be easily de-

ceived, and, by many outward casualties and natural infirmities, whereunto the godly are no less subject than the wicked, are often vitiated; and there are (as the Scripture affirms) false miracles, which, as to the outward, cannot be distinguished from the true! of which we cannot infallibly judge by the outward senses, which only discern what is outward.

“There is a necessity then to have recourse to some other means.

“From all which it does appear, how fallacious and weak this argument is: but thanks be unto God, who would not that our faith should be built upon so uncertain and doubtful a foundation. And whoever hath known true faith, or hath felt the divine testimony of God's spirit in his soul, will judge otherways, neither will be moved by such reasonings. I pray God therefore to remove these clouds, which darken thy understanding, that thou mayest perceive the glorious gospel of Christ: this is that saving word of grace, which I commend thee unto; and that God may give thee a heart inclinable to believe and obey the truth, is the desire of

“thy faithful friend,

“R. Barclay.”

From the prison of Aberdeen in
Scotland, where I am confined
for the sake of the testimony
of Jesus. November 24, 1676.

This letter, a year ago, at the desire of my friend R. B. I delivered into the hands of the aforementioned ambassador, desiring his answer in writing, which he then promised; but not having as yet done, it was 'seen meet to be published.

B. F.

Rotterdam, the 28th of
March, 1678.

A brief and distinct solution of the Argument which the Ambussador aforesaid useth against Robert Barclay's Theses, whereby he attempts to evince, that not the inward revelation of the Holy Spirit, but the outward by the Scripture, is the prinicple rule and foundation of our faith; at least to us Europeans, who have the Scriptures.

AS to his argument, as it was transmitted to us, if he considers the strength and substance of it, thus it stands; "The history of the outward coming, nativity, death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ, is either necessary to their salvation, to whom the Scriptures came, or it is not necessary, viz. to be known and believed. If we say the second, namely, that the history is not necessary to be known and believed in order to the salvation of us Europeans who have the Scriptures, then it will follow that we

are not Christians, because we deny that true essential, and constitutive character of the Christian religion, which consists in believing that Christ was sent into the world, born of the virgin Mary, died and was buried, rose again the third day, ascended into heaven, where he sitteth at the right hand of the Father, &c. But if we say the first, viz. That the knowledge and faith of the history are necessary to our salvation, then it will follow, that the Scripture, and not the inward revelation of the Holy Spirit, is the principle rule and foundation of that historical faith and knowledge." I

Now this he endeavours to prove, both from some other principles of the Quakers, so called, and from R. B's sixth Thesis, after this manner ;

That, said the ambassador, is the principal rule and foundation of our faith, which is the only medium or mean, whereby that historical knowledge and faith are brought unto us : but, according to the Quakers, and the sixth Thesis, the Scripture is the only medium or mean, whereby that historical knowledge and faith are brought unto us : therefore, according to the Quakers, and the sixth Thesis, the Scripture is the principal rule and foundation of our faith.

The minor he proves thus : The author of the Theses (says he) confesseth in his sixth Thesis, that there is a people, to whom God, by some inevitable accident, hath made that historical

knowledge and faith impossible: and the reason why that historical knowledge and faith are impossible to that people, is, because they are destitute of the Scriptures, and live in those corners of the world, whereunto the outward preaching of the history never came; from which argument it will follow that the Scriptures are the only medium or mean, whereby the historical knowledge and faith of Christ came to any people.

For the clearer understanding the solution of this argument, some things worthy of observation are to be considered.

1. First then observe, that the force of this argument at most intends to prove this, viz. That the Scripture is the principal rule and foundation of historical faith and knowledge; but we with good reason distinguish between historical and saving knowledge, and between an historical and saving faith; because many may have an historical knowledge and faith, who have not that which is saving. Yea, it is possible, that a man, by the inward revelation of the Holy Spirit, may have an historical knowledge and faith, who yet may not have that faith which is saving; because saving faith hath regard to God, not precisely, as revealing some outward history concerning God and Christ, but as re-

vealing very God and Christ by his grace, mercy, and power, ready and willing to save us, according to his unspeakable good will towards us; by which saving faith we rest upon God through Christ, our light and life, as upon our most merciful Father; which faith can neither exist, nor be conceived without love to God, humility to God, humility before God, denial and diffidence of self; and therefore such a faith is saving. But historical faith, though wrought in the hearts of men by the inward revelation and operation of the Holy Spirit may be without that divine love, humility and self-denial: wherefore precisely considered in its own nature it is not saving. It was this kind of knowledge and faith which wicked Balaam had, who saw and knew many historical futurities, and believed them, but had not saving faith.

2. Observe, Secondly, That the knowledge and faith necessary to salvation, are to be understood two ways, either by a necessity antecedent, or in way of priority, or by a necessity consequent, or in way of posteriority. Necessity antecedent, or in way of priority is, when something is absolutely necessary to our salvation, that we both know and believe it; and because it is necessary, God doth therefore reveal it to us; of which sort are such principles as these, viz. That God follows men with his love and

good will: that he invites and persuades them to come unto him; that he is ready to shew favour to men, and pardon their sins, if they sincerely repent themselves of their mispent life, and lead a new one for the time to come; that God hears the prayers of those that are truly humble and suppliant; that he is a glorious rewarder of all that live soberly, righteously, and godly; that he is a most just avenger of all those who despise his grace and love, and repent not of their sins, &c. All which, in some degree, are to all men, even to those who are destitute of the Scriptures, revealed by that inward evangelical light, which enlightens all men. Necessity consequent, or in way of posteriority, is, when something is not absolutely necessary to our salvation, but after a certain sort, or under some respect, condition and limitation; of which kind are those things which are not revealed, because they are necessary; but as they are revealed, they are necessary to be believed by us: for example; if God should reveal to any man, that it was his will and command, he should go to Rome to reprove tyranny and superstition; certainly this revelation were necessary to be believed to that man's salvation, by a necessity consequent, because that faith is an act of obedience; and to obey God is necessary to salvation.

3. Observe in the third place, That amongst those things that are necessary to be believed to salvation by a necessity consequent, there are some things, though not absolutely necessary, yet are they very profitable, and conducive means to our salvation; of which sort are the historical knowledge and faith concerning God, the creation and government of the world, Christ's taking flesh, and dying for our sins, &c. whether that historical knowledge come to us, either by the sole inward revelation of the Holy Spirit, without the medium, or mean of Scriptures, or also by both, to wit, both by the inward inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and by the Scriptures which two mediums or means, do sometimes concur in producing in men historical knowledge and faith concerning God and Christ, but in a different manner. The outward revelation (as it is called) of Scripture, is a medium or mean, by way of material object, in producing that historical knowledge and faith: but the inward inspiration and revelation wrought in the hearts of men by the Holy Spirit, are a medium or mean by way of formal object, in producing the same historical knowledge and faith. By the material object we understand that which is believed; and therefore the Scriptures, which are believed, are the material object of historical knowledge and faith. By the formal object we understand the prin-

principal motive in respect of the object, for which the Scriptures are believed. But the principal motive in respect of the object, is not the Scripture itself, but that inward testimony of the Holy Spirit, which when we hear or read the Scriptures (when it pleaseth the most good and great God to inspire the hearts of men) works an assent in us, whether it inclines us to assent to the historical truths hitherto declared in the Scripture or no: wherefore we do not affirm that the Holy Spirit doth ordinarily and commonly speak in us something that is new, or declare to our inward hearing those particular histories of God and Christ (though God may if he please, do it at this day;) but we say, that God doth by his Holy Spirit, through his sensible and perceptible operations and motions objectively representing themselves, move and incline us, to assent unto, and believe the Scriptures, and the historical truths declared of in the Scriptures.

These things considered, we affirm, that though the Scriptures are ordinarily and commonly a certain medium or mean, by way of material object or condition, for the producing of historical knowledge and faith in us; and that, commonly speaking, a necessary mean too, as being that without which God doth not ordinarily reveal the outward history of God and Christ; yet we utterly deny, that in true Chris-

tians, the Scripture or outward history in the Scriptures, is the principal motive, foundation, or principal rule of that historical faith, much less of saving faith, to the producing of which, the letter of the Scripture doth very frequently (as to many of its acts, if not all) not concur or co-operate, either as a material object, or as a necessary condition, which is wont commonly to be called in the schools, *Causa sine quâ non*, or a cause or condition without which a thing cannot be done, though it doth not influence the effect.

Now for a direct solution of the argument aforesaid, we answer, that the historical knowledge and faith concerning Christ's being born, dead, buried, &c. to us Europeans, who have the Scripture, are necessary to salvation, that is to say, by a necessity consequent, or in way of posteriority, (as was before explained!) which assertion of ours nevertheless militates not against the sixth Thesis, which granteth that that historical knowledge and faith are impossible to those who live in those corners of the world, where the knowledge of the history is wanting; which impossibility is not absolutely to be understood, but after a sort, and in some respect: because without doubt God doth ordinarily communicate that historical knowledge unto men, by the medium or mean of the Scriptures; yet not as the principal medium or mean

much less as by the only one : because certainly that inward motion of the Holy Spirit wrought in our hearts, moving and inclining us objectively to assent unto, and believe the Scriptures is the principal motive in respect of the object, for which we believe the Scriptures, and therefore is the foundation and principal rule of our historical faith also.

Wherefore we answer unto the minor proposition of the last syllogism, by plainly and directly denying that minor proposition, viz. That the Scriptures are the only medium or mean for attaining to the knowledge of the history : they are indeed one certain medium or mean, and that necessary ; but they are not the only nor principal. An example for the illustration here occurs in natural and outward vision : for when I see a white or red rose, that white or red rose is the material object of my sight, and one necessary medium for the producing of that sight ; yet that rose is not the only medium or mean ; for the light is another, no less necessary, concurring to produce my sight, by way of formal object, by means of which I see that rose represented under such or such a colour and figure. Moreover, in that he asserts, these inward motions wrought by the Holy Spirit in the hearts of believers, are so undiscernible by us, that believers cannot clearly and infallibly distinguish them from their own private and pro-

per motions: this he supposes, but proves not. And therein he is deceived, either through his inexperience, or want of that due waiting, and attention to those motions in the divine illumination of Christ, wherewith he hath enlightened both him [the ambassador] and all men coming into the world. But our experience, together with the experience of the holy prophets and apostles, is a stronger motive to induce us to believe, that divine inward revelation is sufficiently clear and convincing by its own light and evidence, than his own bare and jejune supposition of the contrary, by reason of his want of experience or attention.

As to the Latin, we have not been very curious in this writing, by reason of haste; yet have briefly answered the argument as a friend communicated it to us by letter; if he hath omitted any thing in his transmission, or we may seem not to have understood, or touched the strength of the argument, let it be remitted to us; and we, through divine assistance, shall answer it at large.

George Keith, and
Robert Barclay.

This solution was delivered to the said ambassador, not long before the epistle cited, page 537, and at page 17, in the Appendix to Sewel's Dutch history.

A brief Enodation of an Argument proposed by another Person.

MOREOVER as to what relates to another person's argument against that part of R. B's second Thesis, which asserts, That divine inward revelation is that which is evident and clear of itself, moving the well disposed understanding by its own evidence, &c. to the end of the Thesis.

The argument is thus formed : Such an evidence as is asserted in the Thesis, is destructive of faith, because it is not the evidence of faith. He proves the antecedent by the words of the apostle, "Faith is the evidence of things not seen," Heb. xi. 1. By which words the apostle seems to intimate, that faith hath not this kind of evidence ; for if it were of things seen, it would contradict the apostle.

The solution of this argument is easy ; for evidence is three fold.

The first is the evidence of things sensible, appertaining to the outward senses.

The second is the evidence of things intellectual, but natural, appertaining to natural reason. .

The third is the evidence of things spiritual and supernatural, as they are proposed to the understanding, by the inward illumination and revelation of the Holy Spirit.

The first evidence may be called the evidence of sense, or animal evidence.

The second the evidence of reason, or rational evidence.

The third the evidence of faith, or spiritual evidence.

But faith is the evidence of things not seen, that is, neither visible by the outward senses, or by natural reason; yet these things hinder not, but that faith may be the evidence of things not seen by the understanding of a man, not as operating in its own natural way, but as divinely elevated and assisted by the inward illumination and operation of the Holy Spirit. Wherefore, though things appertaining to faith may be very obscure, and as it were mere darkness, both to the outward senses, and natural reason; yet they have their evidence, if duly proposed to an understanding divinely enlightened. Is it not said in the same chapter to the Hebrews concerning Moses, that by faith he saw God? That is to say, not by the outward eye, nor

by the eye of natural reason, but by the eye of faith.

The curious may see the original Latin (from which the preceding are translated) in the Appendix to William Sewel's Dutch History of the Quakers.

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